Concord and Discord in the World of Literature in Taiwan, 1949 - 1971. A Selective Study of Writers' Associations, Literary Movements and Controversial Writers.

Thesis

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis does not purport to be an indepth study of the whole literary scene in Taiwan. Nor does it concern itself primarily with the growth and development of various literary genres. Instead, it sets out to look at several writers' associations, their aims and literary activities; their attempts to create a united front against the threat of Communism and their efforts to encourage a literature that is imbued with the spirit of The Three Principles of the People. It sets out also to examine some of the literary movements that were initiated in response to events in mainland China and in the Taiwan Straits.

However, the thesis is not concerned solely with the literary scene viewed from the standpoint of government policy. It draws attention to, among things, the "unofficial" poetry societies; the debate surrounding the modernization of literature in the fifties and sixties; the East-West Controversy, 1962 - 1964, and to the episode which resulted in the closure of the literary journal, Wen-hsing 文星 (Literary Star). It also covers the Hsin so 心鎖 (The Lock of the Heart) Controversy of 1963, and the Po Yang 柏楊 Case of 1967 - 1968, which led to the incarceration of the well-known novelist and essayist, Kuo I-tung 郭衣洞.

I have limited my study to the years 1949 - 1971, although references will be made to the literary scene in

China prior to 1949, where applicable, as well as to the situation which prevailed during the Japanese occupation of Taiwan. 1949 makes a suitable starting-point since it marks the commencement of the Kuomintang government's exile in Taiwan; and 1971 makes a natural cut-off point because the unseating of Nationalist China in the United Nations in that year changed Taiwan's status in the international arena.

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PREFACE

On August 30, 1961, the satirical essayist, Po Yang, wrote in his regular column in Tzu-li wan-pao (Independence Evening News), that he could not understand why officials continued the practice of donating sets of the Twenty-four Histories or similar collections of reprinted works to those countries with which Taiwan had cultural exchange agreements. Apart from "putting the Post Office in the way of doing a little business," he said, it was of as little use as the giving of the works of the great writers of ancient Greece to the Chinese. But worse still, it implied that Chinese culture ceased when the Ch'ing dynasty came to an end and that nothing of any consequence had been produced since then. Po Yang was merely putting into words a feeling that was common among many creative writers in Taiwan.

Po Yang's remarks must have been noted in the right quarter for donations of the works of modern writers began to be made to universities abroad with departments or schools of Asian studies. One of the universities which benefitted was the University of Melbourne, Australia. The Baillieu Library suddenly acquired a large number of works of fiction from the pens of those writers who had achieved some distinction by the late fifties and early sixties. The China Quarterly in its September, 1963, issue, which was devoted solely to the Taiwan scene, painted a fairly gloomy picture of the state of literature on the island.

Nevertheless, it did draw attention to a few writers who had made a mark for themselves. As the works of these writers were among those which now found a place on the shelves of the Baillieu Library, I selected the works of two of them, both women, as possible subjects for study. The writers in question were Kuo Liang-hui and Meng Yao. As much as I enjoyed reading Kuo Liang-hui, I very soon came to the conclusion that Meng Yao "had far more to say," and consequently proceeded to make an in-depth study of her novels. By the end of my study, I had come to the conclusion that Taiwan was not the literary desert some observers at the time were saying that it was, and that its literature deserved further closer observation, though possibly from a different angle.

A number of scholars in the West have begun to explore limited areas of the world of literature in Taiwan, and the nineteen seventies, in particular, have witnessed an increasing number of studies of individual writers and their works. However, no one has yet, to my knowledge, attempted to provide a detailed picture of the background against which the writer in Taiwan operates. Nor, I believe, has so much widely scattered material such as is to be found in this thesis been brought together until now.

One problem I have had to face in this study is the reliability of comment and criticism by Chinese writers and critics both inside and outside Taiwan. Of those outside Taiwan, I have considered contributors to Nan pei chi and Ming pao (both magazines published in Hong Kong) as

generally offering fair comment. But I have often attached even greater importance to criticism appearing in officially recognized journals and papers published in Taiwan on the assumption that self-criticism among those for whom the projection of a good "public image" is of the utmost importance is likely to reflect genuine concerns and priorities. I have, of course, also drawn on the publications of well-known creative writers, some of which have allied themselves with government policies, but others of which jealously guard their independence of all political attachments.

In order to determine which of these writers and critics possess sufficient stature to merit notice, I have, in most instances, limited myself to those who appear in the following works: The Anthology of Contemporary Chinese Literature, 1949-1974; Yip Wai-lim's Modern Chinese Poetry; Angela Palandri's Modern Verse from Taiwan; Joseph Lau's and Timothy Ross' Chinese Stories from Taiwan; Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsüeh ta hsi (A Comprehensive Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature); Chung-hua min-kuo tang-tai wen-i tso-chia ming-lu (Directory of Contemporary Authors of the Republic of China); Chung-hua min-kuo wen-i shih (The History of the Literature of the Republic of China); Chung-kuo wen-i nien-chien (China Literature and Art Year-book), and Li Li-ming's Chung-kuo hsien-tai liu pai tso-chia hsiao chuan (Sketch Biographies of Modern Chinese Writers).

I do not pretend that this is an exhaustive and conclusive study. There is such a wealth of material that it has been impossible to include everything. Lines have

had to be drawn and limits imposed. Consequently, there may be aspects of the literary scene in Taiwan some would wish to see covered, but which have not been included here. What is required now is a number of full-length investigations and studies which will seek to examine in depth each of the fields of literary endeavour and each of the literary movements in Taiwan which have been touched upon here.

Until that takes place, I hope that this thesis will go some way towards providing an adequate backdrop against which the writer in Taiwan can be viewed and appreciated.

There are three people whom I wish to thank for their untiring efforts on my behalf during the writing of this thesis: My husband, without whose support this thesis would not have been completed and whose comments have been invaluable; Samuel Yung-chien Chang, the librarian of the Asian Library, University of Auckland, who frequently went beyond the call of duty in locating and acquiring material for me; and finally, Leslie Hui-hsing Luey for the time he spent in writing the characters in the text.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACCL - Anthology of Contemporary Chinese Literature.

BDRC - Biographical Dictionary of Republican China.

CYNC - Ti szu tz'u Chung-hua min-kuo chiao-yü nien-chien (The Fourth Educational Yearbook of the Republic of China).

FHLT - Chung-hua wen-hua fu-hsing lun-ts'ung (Collected Essays on the Chinese Cultural Renaissance).

FHYK - Chung-hua wen-hua fu-hsing yüeh-k'an (Chinese Cultural Renaissance Monthly).

FHYT - Chung-hua wen-hua fu-hsing yün-tung (The Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement).

TCML - Chung-hua min-kuo tang-tai wen-i tso-chia ming-lu (Directory of Contemporary Authors of the Republic of China).

WHTH - Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsüeh ta hsi (Anthology of Contemporary Chinese Literature).

WINC - Chung-kuo wen-i nien-chien,1966 (The China Literature and Art Yearbook).

WIS - Chung-hua min-kuo wen-i shih (The History of the Republic of China).

WT - Wen t'an chi-k'an (Literature Forum Quarterly).

YSWI - Yu shih wen-i (Young Lions' Literature).

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

As the Second World War began to draw to a close delegates from fifty governments met in San Francisco to lay the foundations for a world organization that would deal with international problems as they arose and thereby seek to prevent a repetition of warfare on the scale just witnessed. Adopting the name once applied by President Franklin D. Roosevelt to the allied forces - the United Nations - the new organization set about establishing the machinery for the implementation of international peace and security.

As one of the five major foundation members and the representative of almost a quarter of mankind, China was assured a permanent seat on the Security Council - a smaller, special organ designed to deal with threats to world peace without having to wait for the General Assembly to convene.[1]

Until 1949 there had been no question as to who should represent China. Chiang Kai-shek's government was in power and was recognized as the legitimate government of China, despite his growing loss of authority and military defeats at the hands of the Communists.

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1. See MacLaurin, John, The United Nations and Power Politics (London, Allen & Unwin, 1951), pp. 7,9.

1949, however, saw the end of the Kuomintang regime on the mainlaid of China; its withdrawal to the island of Taiwan and its replacement by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, with Mao Tse-tung as its chairman. Although many nations hastened to recognize the new government in Peking, others were not so inclined; and in the United Nations a Russian motion for the immediate expulsion of the Nationalist Chinese was defeated.

In 1950 the matter of representation was again brought before the United Nations when India introduced a resolution which declared that the Communist regime was entitled to representation at the General Assembly. This resolution too was rejected.

Each year thereafter the matter came up before a much augmented Assembly in the form of requests to place the item on the agenda of the session. Again and again the resolution was rejected, although by 1965 the gap between those who wanted to maintain the status quo and those who felt it was high time that mainland China was represented in the community of nations had narrowed to such a degree that the voting resulted in a tie.

With the Cultural Revolution and the subsequent turmoil in China, later votes were unfavourable to Peking. Thus, the vexed question of China's representation at the United Nations was left in abeyance until 1971.

On the evening of October 25, 1971, the 26th General Assembly of the United Nations met to consider the representation of China yet again. There was by now, however, a feeling, worldwide, that a change in favour of Communist China was a distinct possibility; and the world's press waited with mounting suspense as the Albanian resolution to seat Peking and to expel the delegates from the Republic of China was put to the vote. Despite seventeen abstentions and three absentees, the Albanian resolution was carried by a vote of 76 in favour to 35 against. The following morning the press around the world reflected the significance of this decision. The British press, for example, carried such headlines as, "Shock U.N. defeat for American Plan. Mao comes in, Chiang ousted."[2] The Times reported, less sensationally, "Jubilation and caution over Peking's victory."[3] whilst the editorial in The Guardian on Wednesday, October 27, read, "The longest debate in the United Nations' history has ended with a victory for common sense."

The United Nations' decision to unseat Nationalist China in favour of Communist China proved that the majority of nations had finally come to accept the fact

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2 Evening Standard, (October 26, 1971), p.1.

3 The Times (October 26, 1971),p.1.

that the Nationalist Government in exile on the island of Taiwan could no longer be regarded as the spokesman for China's 700 million people and that its claim to the United Nations' seat was therefore unrealistic.

The United Nations' decision came as a blow to the government in Taiwan, and reactions in Taiwan ranged from anger to despair.[4] For twenty-two years the Nationalist Government had claimed to be the one and only legitimate government of China; it saw Taiwan as the "last bastion of freedom", "the Beacon of the Free World". The Communists, branded as "bandits" and "renegades", had come to power, it claimed, not by the will of the people, but through subversion and infiltration. To allow Communist China into the community of nations amounted to world recognition of a tyrannous regime and to a silencing of the voice that spoke on behalf of the oppressed people of China.

The rest of the world obviously thought differently; and the departure of the Nationalist delegation on October 25, 1971 marked the end of an era.

It is this era, particularly with regard to some of the literary associations and the literary movements that grew out of specific situations during the period, as well as certain selected writers who, for one reason

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[4] Free China Review, (November, 1971), p.9.

or another, were made to pay for a particular stand taken, that will come under examination in this thesis, although reference will also be made to the literary scene under the Japanese in order to show the mood that prevailed at the time of Taiwan's retrocession to China. We shall begin, however, by providing a brief outline of historical and political events immediately following the defeat of Japan in 1945 in order to make clear the reasons for subsequent events in Taiwan.

The immediate post-war period

At the end of World War II Taiwan, which since the signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895[5] had been a Japanese colony, was returned to China. Taiwan's retrocession and the subsequent arrival of Ch'en Yi 陳儀 [6] as Governor did not bring the happy outcome

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[5] The Treaty of Shimonoseki marked the end of the Sino-Japanese War, 1894-1895, in which China was defeated by Japan and was made to cede Formosa (Taiwan), the Pescadores (Peng-hu) and Manchuria east of the river Liao to Japan. She was also made to recognize Korea as an independent state, see Hsü, Immanuel, C.Y., Rise of Modern China, 2nd edit., (London, Oxford University Press, 1975) pp. 416-418.

[6] Ch'en Yi, 1883-1950 graduated from military academy in Japan 1907. He was Governor of Fukien, 1934-1941 and Governor of Chekiang 1948-1949. He was the first Chinese government administrator in Taiwan. Chiang Kai-shek is said to have owed him a debt of gratitude for a timely defection during the Northern Expedition in 1927. For further biographical details see Boorman, Howard L. and Howard, Richard C., Biographical Dictionary of Republican China, 4 Vols. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1967, 1968, 1970, 1971), Vol. 1, p. 251. Hereafter cited as BDRC. See also Riggs, Fred. W, Formosa under Chinese Nationalist Rule (New York, Macmillan, 1952), p.43.

the Taiwanese had been expecting. Ch'en Yi proved to be a harsh and rapacious man who treated the Taiwanese, not as cousins who had been returned to the family, but as defeated enemies. The systematic plunder of former Japanese-owned industries and properties for private gain; the favouritism shown towards the mainlander as opposed to the Taiwanese in the matter of executive appointments; the harsh and repressive government of Ch'en Yi and his administration which gave rise to demonstrations during which several people were killed, and the subsequent brutal campaign of suppression which is estimated to have claimed the lives of at least 10,000 people, and to have wiped out a whole generation of Taiwan's potential leadership[7], not only cooled the enthusiasm which the Taiwanese originally had felt at the prospect of being returned to China, but also created such bitterness and animosity on the part of the island's inhabitants towards the mainlander that it took many years for the wounds to begin to heal.

Although world opinion forced Chiang Kai-shek to recall Ch'en Yi and to replace him with a more moderate and liberal-minded official in the person of

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7 For a description of February 28 Incident 1947 which triggered off the supression campaign see Kerr, George, Formosa Betrayed (London, Eyre and Spottiswood, 1966), pp.254-311, and Walker, Richard L., "Taiwan's Movement into Political Modernity " in Sih, Paul K.T. ed., Taiwan in Modern Times, Asia in the Modern World Series, No.13, (St. John's University Press, 1973), p.361.

Wei Tao-ming 魏道明,[8] the damage had been done. Although Wei tried to correct some of the abuses of his predecessors most Taiwanese were to harbour serious reservations about the National Government and its administration for years to come.

1949 saw the end of Kuomintang control of the mainland of China and the retreat of Chiang Kai-shek and the National Government to the island of Taiwan. In their wake followed a flood of refugees: "...generals with their defeated or retreating troops; wealthy landlords and business-men who feared the approaching Communists, and a swarm of government officials, secret police and camp followers. "...workers and officials took over industrial and administrative positions en masse and many Formosans found it necessary to leave the major towns for their original village homes, where they contributed to rural unrest and imposed an added burden on the countryside."[9]

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[8] Wei Tao-ming, b. Kiangsi, 1899. Studied law in Paris where he received his doctorate in 1926. He established a law practice upon his return to China. He was Minister of Justice, 1928-1930; Mayor of Nanking, 1930-1931; Secretary-General of the Executive Yuan, 1938-1941. Ambassador to the United States 1942-1946, Governor of Taiwan 1948. Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1966. For further biographical details see BDRC Vol. 3, pp.406-408.

[9] Riggs, op.cit., pp.48,65.

It was assumed that the Communists would follow up their victory on the mainland by launching an attack on Taiwan. The two burning questions of the day were, when would the attack take place? and how long could Taiwan hold out? The mood was therefore one of deep pessimism and apprehension.

Even before the Kuomintang's defeat at the hands of the Communists a "state of emergency" had been proclaimed over the whole of Taiwan so that the island could be administered under martial law. The effect of this was to place Taiwan under the control and surveillance of the military authorities and to bring about the suspension of the guarantees and protections of the individual rights and freedom written into the Chinese constitution. The state of siege or national emergency has persisted through the years and been justified on the grounds that the National Government is still at war with the Chinese Communist Government. In the interest of order and security, the government has maintained that the measures adopted must be enforced until such time as the National Government recovers the Chinese mainland.[10]

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[10] See P!.eng Ming-min, "Political Offences in Taiwan: Laws and Problems" in The China Quarterly No. 47, (July - September, 1971), p.474.

Chiang Kai-shek resumes the office of President

Chiang Kai-shek who had "retired"[11] from the Presidency in January, 1949, but retained his leadership of the Kuomintang, resumed the office of President on March 1, 1950,[12] and, vowing to return to the mainland, set out to reorganize the defeated rabble that had fled with him to Taiwan into a strong fighting force. This, of course, he could not do on his own. He had neither the finance nor the equipment, and therefore turned once again to the United States for aid. American support for Chiang had cooled considerably after the War because of the way in which he repeatedly demanded military and economic aid for the continuance of his "holy war" against the Communists and because he insisted that this take precedence over economic and political reform, and the curbing of the excessive corruption that was such a feature of the post-war era.[13] The United States had all but washed its hands of Chiang during the final stages of the Nationalist - Communist struggle and the National Government's removal to Taiwan. The outbreak of the Korean war in June, 1950, however, caused the United States to reassess its position in East Asia and to reconsider its relationship with the National Government.

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11 See Clubb, Edmund O. 20th Century China (New York, Columbia University Press, 1964) p.294 and Latourette, Kenneth Scott, A History of Modern China, (Penguin Books, 1954), p.203.

12 See China Yearbook, 1969-1970, p.801.

13 See Clubb, op.cit., pp.263-285.

In America's attempt to "contain" Communism, Taiwan was seen to be of strategic importance, and military advisors, equipment and economic aid began to pour into the island.[14]

All this had, of course, taken place without the Taiwanese being consulted. In fact, they had practically no voice in the policy-making process. It is true that some reforms instituted - probably more to restore American confidence in the administration than in a genuine desire to see justice done to the Taiwanese[15] - resulted in the setting up, on December 11, 1951, in Taichung, of a Taiwan Provisional Provincial Assembly, which, from the government's point of view, marked the beginning of "self-government"[16] in Taiwan. However, the Provincial Assembly "lacked teeth" in that matters of vital importance to the island were dealt with by the National Government in Taipei; and the government in Taipei was dominated by mainlanders who looked upon Taiwan solely as a base from which to launch a counter-attack which would return them to the mainland.

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14 See Jacoby, Neil, H. U.S.A. Aid to Taiwan. A Study of Foreign Aid, Self-help and Development. (New York Praeger, 1966), pp.81 ff. and Riggs op.cit., p.7.

15 See Kerr, op. cit., p. 406.

16 See China Yearbook 1969-1970, p.448.

So much did this continue to be the case that as late as May, 1971, P'eng Ming-min 彭明敏 [17], one of the leaders of the Formosan Independence Movement now living in the United States, stated, "The administrative branch is tightly controlled by mainlanders. The Taiwanese make up 85% of the population but they have 3% of the representation in the national legislature. There has been no general election since 1949 and the members from the mainland have become a permanent privileged class."[18]

It was to take almost two decades before the Kuomintang-controlled government woke up to the need to include more Taiwanese in the decision-making process.[19] In the early fifties, however, when the political fortunes of the Kuomintang were at their lowest ebb; and when the island was suffering from inflation, inadequate facilities, reduced production and the influx of over a million refugees, fair political representation was not high on

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17 P'eng Ming-min, b. Taiwan 1923. Educated National Taiwan University, McGill University, Canada, received his doctorate at University of Paris. P'eng specialized in space law and was at one time legal advisor to the Chinese Nationalist delegation at the United Nations. He was also Chairman and Professor of Political Science at National Taiwan University. As one of the leaders of the Formosan Independence Movement, he was arrested in 1964 and charged with sedition. After imprisonment, he was released on house-arrest but managed to escape in 1970. He is now teaching at the Centre for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan. See P'eng Ming-min, A Taste of Freedom, New York, Holt, Rinehardt and Winston, 1972.

18 Far Eastern Economic Review Vol. LXXII, No. 21. (May 22, 1971), pp.16-17.

19 See Walker op.cit., p.374. and Chiu, Hungdah, China and the Question of Taiwan. Documents and Analysis (New York, Praeger, 1973), p.101.

the government's list of priorities. What it felt it needed was a strong man at the helm who could give it some kind of direction. This Chiang did on his return to presidential office in 1950.

Initially, while Chiang was still courting American goodwill, he accepted the advice of his American and British-trained advisors.[20] But once an election in the United States had brought about a change of government whose support could be taken for granted, he felt, according to George Kerr, that "liberal gestures were no longer needed"[21] and consequently shunted his liberal politicians into positions of lesser influence while he himself began to assume greater dictatorial powers.

With American aid and the signing of a Mutual Defence Treaty in 1954 with the United States under the terms of which the United States agreed to come to Taiwan's defence if attacked, Taiwanese society began to make significant progress, if not politically at least economically, industrially and socially.[22]

The Treaty came into being while the Chinese Communists were exerting pressure on the Nationalist-held islands of Kinmen (Quemoy) and the Tachen Islands[23] off the coast of China. Its intent was to be tested during

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20 See Mei Wen-li, "The Intellectuals in Formosa" in Mancall, Mark, ed., Formosa Today, (New York, Praeger, 1964) pp.122-123.

21 Kerr, op. cit., p.422.

23 ibid., pp.144-145.

the Taiwan Straits Crisis in 1958 when the same islands were to come under massive artillery fire from the Chinese mainland. Although a certain amount of apprehension was felt in Taiwan on both occasions, yet the response of the armed forces and the United States allayed any fears of a possible escalation of the crisis.[24]

The Ideology of Counter-attack and Return

Initially, no mainlander expected his stay in Taiwan to be anything but of short duration. He believed that as soon as the population on the mainland experienced the "tyranny" of the new regime, it would rise up against its oppressors and ally itself with its compatriots in Taiwan in an effort to re-establish a free republic. He was bolstered in this belief by continuous propaganda from the media and by the countless slogans that were to be found posted up or painted on every prominent place in every city, town and hamlet. To doubt the possibility of a return to the mainland was regarded not only as defeatist and bad for morale, but it suggested a lack of confidence in the leadership. It amounted to harbouring subversive thoughts. To express such thoughts, of course, was treason. The whole raison d'etre of the Kuomintang Government in Taiwan, and the continuous mobilization of its armed forces, was, and continues to

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[24] ibid. pp.78-79.

be, tied up with the "ideology of counter-attack and return."[25] When, for example, the editor of the Tzu-yu Chung-kuo 自由中國(Free China Fortnightly) in August 1957 dared to suggest in his editorial that the government should accept the fact that there was little likelihood of a return to the mainland and that consequently it should come to terms with being in Taiwan and improve conditions there, condemnation of the author, Lei Chen 雷震[26] by the Kuomintang-controlled press was vociferous. When Lei Chen persisted in debunking the myth of the return to the mainland and associated with Taiwanese leaders who were advocating self-government on the island, he was arrested in September, 1960, tried by court-martial for sedition and sentenced to ten years'imprisonment.[27]

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25 See Wurfel, David, "Taiwanese Nationalism: Problems for United States Policy" in Studies in Asia (Nebraska, Lincoln University, 1963), p.111 and Karlgren, Joyce K, "Nationalist China. The Continuing Dilemma of the Mainland Philosophy" in Asian Survey, Vol. 3, No.1, (Berkeley, University of California, 1963), pp.11-17.

26 Lei Chen. b. Chekiang 1897. M.A. Tokyo Imperial University; Professor, National Central University 1930-33; Director, General Affairs Dept., Ministry of Education, 1933-38; Assistant Secretary-General, People's Political Council 1938-47; Secretary-General Political Consultative Council 1945-47; Minister without Portfolio, Executive Yüan, 1947-48; Delegate to National Assembly, 1949; Advisor to the office of the President, 1950-52; Publisher of Free China Fortnightly.

27 See Mei wen-li, op.cit., pp.125-126, Kerr, op.cit., 444-448, and Crozier, Brian, The Man Who Lost China (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976), p.376.

The passage of time did nothing to lessen government commitment (at least in public) to the goal of an eventual return to the Chinese mainland. In each of his New Year's messages to the people, Chiang Kai-shek promised to liberate the mainland "soon", and each year he would call upon everyone to make "heroic sacrifices."[28] In 1962 conditions in China appeared ripe for action. Flood, drought and failures in economic planning, followed by a massive exodus of refugees into Hong Kong and the putting of all military personnel in Taiwan on the alert for possible military action, all combined to suggest a possible attempt on the part of the Nationalist Government to recover at least some of its lost territory. Whatever the true mind of Chiang Kai-shek and his advisors at this time, the United States Government saw fit to remind President Chiang that according to the Treaty between their two governments the United States would come to Taiwan's defence if the island was attacked, but that the United States was in no way committed to aid Chiang if he took the offensive without prior consultation with the American Government.[29] This reminder so effectively put the reins on the Nationalist Government

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[28] See, for example, Chiang's address to the National Assembly, March 25, 1966, recorded in Free China Review Vol. XVI No. 5. (May, 1966), and Kerr, op.cit., p.407.

[29] Karlgren, op.cit., p.14

that henceforth it changed its emphasis, and instead of contemplating large-scale military operations, it set about intensifying "political struggle". The commitment to return to the mainland was in no way abrogated, but the chief method whereby it was to be accomplished was changed. This method was summed up in the old slogan used in the 1930's during the anti-Communist campaigns: "Thirty per cent military action and seventy per cent political struggle."[30] Chiang's annual call for commitment, dedication and self-sacrifice on the part of every member of society did not cease, but the date for a return to the mainland was put off to that time in the future when there would be a large-scale uprising against the regime on the mainland. At that point, it was now proclaimed, the promised counter-attack would be launched.[31]

Neither the passage of time nor the change of emphasis from planned direct military action to the battle for men's minds affected the policy of maintaining an armed force, estimated at some six hundred thousand men, in a state of military preparedness; and 80% of the national budget has been devoted annually to military expenditure. Some observers have felt that this has been

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[30] Chiu, op. cit., p.84.

[31] ibid, p.85.

too heavy a burden to place on the economy;[32] but, as stated earlier, the United States had committed itself to pouring aid into Taiwan, and the National Government, no doubt banking on the continuing generosity of America, believed it could risk spending such a high proportion of its income on the armed forces. Certainly economic growth such as Taiwan has seen over the years along with so great a degree of expenditure on armaments could not have been sustained without American aid. This aid began to pour into the island in the early fifties and continued well into the sixties, when it was finally discontinued because Taiwan's economic strength was by then such that it was no longer needed.[33]

Economic growth and the Taiwanese

Although politically Taiwan may seem, at least from the standpoint of the Western Democracies, to leave much

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[32] See Karlgren, op.cit., p.15. Frederick H. Chaffee, in Area Handbook for the Republic of China (Washington, The American University, 1969), p.402, says that since 1960 the defence expenditure has dropped to 50% of the national budget, not because of a reduction in the actual amount apportioned the armed forces, but because of the economic progress of the island.

[33] U.S. aid to Taiwan between 1951 and 1965 totalled 1.4 billion dollars. This was used both in the agricultural and industrial sector. See Wright,K.T., Agricultural Economic Report, No. 19. (East Lansing, Michigan State, October, 1965), p.29.

to be desired,[34] economically, the island changed beyond recognition between 1949 and 1970, for American aid did not just consist of military advisors and supplies. The American Aid Mission also helped to influence the economic policies of the government. The government consequently gave greater encouragement to private enterprise with the result that industrial output and private capital formation grew twice as fast in the private sector as in the public sector. Business corporations rose at a phenomenal rate: and exports increased. The introduction of a land reform programme in 1953, which was deplored by some,[35] but praised by others,[36] broke up the large estates, redistributed the land among peasant proprietors, and introduced improved methods of agriculture. Compared with its neighbours, Taiwan had,by 1971, the second highest economic growth rate in Asia.[37]

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34 There are observers who feel that those who have sympathized with the Formosan Independence Movement have not altogether been fair in their judgement of the political situation in Taiwan and that they have consequently painted a very negative picture of the island. See, for example, Walker, op.cit., p.392, footnote 39.

35 See Kerr, op.cit., p.420.

36 See Wei, Yung, "Taiwan: A Modernizing Chinese Society" in Sih, op.cit., pp.459-463.

37 See Plummer, Mark A. "Chiang Kai-shek and the National Assembly" in Studies in Asia, (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1967), p.130 and Wei, op.cit., p.449.

One of the interesting features of the economic picture has been the extent to which trade and industry has been dominated by the Taiwanese. "More than 60% of all production in the island's growing economy is in private hands, "wrote Allan Cole in 1967," and about 80% of private enterprisers are Taiwanese."[38]

Trade and industry have been the areas in which the Taiwanese have been allowed to express opinions. However, although there have been moves on the part of the government towards greater Taiwanese participation both within the Kuomintang itself and in local government, particularly in the late 1960's, all sensitive posts are still retained in the hands of the mainlanders, and Taiwanese have only been able to hold on to their wealth by refraining from making audible comment on sensitive political issues.[39]

People in the top echelons in trade and industry have inevitably had to mix, with increasing frequency, with politicians and officials; and it is here "in subtle manoeuvres of mutual back-scratching"[40] that a rapprochement between mainlander and Taiwanese has taken place.

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38 Cole, Allan, "Political Roles of Taiwanese Enterprisers" Asian Survey, Vol. VIII, No.9. (Berkeley, September, 1967), p.653.

39 Tien Hung-mao "Taiwan in Transition: Prospects for socio-political Change" in The China Quarterly, No.64 (October/December, 1975), pp.616-617.

40 ibid.

But, generally speaking, although there has been a gradual relaxation of the tension between Taiwanese and mainlander even at lower levels in society, "The cleavage between Taiwanese and mainlanders still remains wide...." wrote Peter Chang in 1967. "Close friendships between the two groups are rare, even among college students where relatively favourable circumstances for such friendships might be expected to prevail. Intermarriage between the groups is also uncommon. Most intermarriages end up incurring the hostility of the family of both partners... The gulf between the two groups is deep but it is not necessarily permanent. A gradual Taiwanization of the government is a possibility as the result of various natural forces such as the emergence of a second generation born on the island of mainland parents. However, such a development is only possible through the willingness on the part of the mainlander to merge with the Taiwanese majority in an independent Formosan nation. At the present time, there is little evidence that any such a possibility exists."[41]

The idea of an independent and self-governing Taiwan has, as we have seen elsewhere, been voiced from time to time, but the government has never allowed it to take root, and has severely punished those who have mooted such an idea, or even put forward the less drastic

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[41] Chang, Peter, "The Formosa Tangle: A Formosan's View" in Asian Survey, Vol. VIII, No.2 (Berkeley, November, 1967), p.802.

suggestion of the formation of a "loyal opposition" in the National Assembly.[42] The Kuomintang has, however, very slowly woken up to the need to court the Taiwanese a little more than it has done in the past. This could well be a form of insurance for the future since mainlanders constitute only 13% of the island's civilian population. Whatever the reasons, however, Sheldon Appleton noted in 1970 that there was a "movement towards greater governmental responsiveness to the needs of the people."[43] And a few months later Bruce Jacobs wrote in The China Quarterly, "The winds of political change in Taiwan have begun to breathe. In some areas, turnover within the leadership is substantial and new incumbents are generally both younger and better educated than their predecessors. While mainlanders, especially those from the Lower Yangtze Valley, dominate the political system, explicit and not insignificant steps are being taken to increase Taiwanese participation."[44]

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[42] See Wurfel, op.cit., p.111 and Kerr, op.cit., p.446.

[43] Appleton, Sheldon, "Taiwanese and Mainlanders on Taiwan: A Survey of Student Attitudes" in The China Quarterly, No.44 (October/December, 1970), p.57.

[44] Jacobs, Bruce, J. "Recent Leadership and Political Trends in Taiwan" in The China Quarterly, No. 45, (January/March, 1971), p.129.

If there is a move towards a "gradual Taiwanization"[45] of the government, the breach between the mainlander and the Taiwanese may be healed. As the island's future is uncertain and neither group wants to come under the domination of Communist China, it would serve no purpose to keep antagonisms alive.

The official view is that there is no rift between Taiwanese and mainlander and that the animosity supposedly existing between the two is a fabrication put about by the Chinese Communists in order to promote dissension and unrest. Some would say this distortion of the truth "has been aggravated by ill-informed Western writers, some because of naivete, some because they wish to serve the Communist cause or who are, for some inexplicable reason, pathologically opposed to the Republic of China."[46] That there is a grain of truth in the above criticism is given some support by Chiu Hung-dah in his publication China and the Question of Taiwan.

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[45] The political breakthrough for the Taiwanese came in 1972 when Chiang Kai-shek's son, Chiang Ching-kuo 蔣經國 was named Premier, for he named two Taiwanese as Provincial Governor of Taiwan and Mayor of Taipei Special Municipality, and six Taiwanese to cabinet level posts. See Walker, op. cit., pp.374, 384-385. As these changes took place after the period under review in this thesis, they will not be discussed here.

[46] Tang Wu, "Image of Free China" in Free China Review Vol. XXII, No. 4 (April, 1972), pp.17-18.

Although he probably would not agree with the terms "ill-informed" or "naivete", he asserts that since many Western scholars, journalists and former diplomats are sympathetic to a Formosan Independence Movement, they tend to be "highly critical"[47] of Nationalist rule and therefore express "one-sided"[48] opinions on the situation in Taiwan.

It might be pertinent to end with the offical view as it was expressed by Yang Ming-che in Free China Review in 1972,

> "Whatever differences may exist among themselves, the free Chinese know they are incalculably better off than their compatriots on the mainland. Any restraints in the interest of national security are mild compared with total supression of the mainland. Freedom to live one's own life is absolute except for those who advocate overthrow of the government by force and violence."[49]

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[47] Chiu, op.cit., p.108 footnote 57. See also pp.92-95.

[48] ibid.

[49] Yang Ming-che "Forward with Confidence" in Free China Review, Vol. XXIII, No.5 (April, 1972), p.12.

CHAPTER TWO

Antecedents to a "New Literature"

The Literary Scene in Taiwan During the Japanese Occupation and Immediately Following the Restoration

"Taiwanese literature during the Japanese occupation was, from the point of view of the occupying Japanese, a colonial literature; but from the point of view of a disinherited Taiwan, it was directed towards its ancestral homeland; and in its resistance to foreign sovereignity, it produced a type of Chinese literature which was nationalistic in temper," says Wu Ying-t'ao 吳瀛濤,[1] a Taiwanese poet, in an article entitled, "Kai-shu kuang-fu ch'ien ti T'ai-wan wen-hsüeh" 概述光復前的臺灣文學 (A general account of the literature of Taiwan prior to the restoration).[2] He goes on to say, "... although Taiwanese literature

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[1] Wu Ying-t'ao was born in Taipei in 1916. He graduated from the Taipei School of Commerce. Whilst still a student he began to participate in literary activities and developed a passion for literature. It was at this time that he discovered he had a gift for writing poetry. He joined the Taipei branch of the Taiwan Union of Literature and Art. He was employed by various Japanese organizations until Taiwan's retrocession to China, after which he worked for the Taiwan Provincial Tobacco and Wine Co. until his retirement. In 1964 he and fellow-poets started the bi-monthly poetry journal Li 笠 (Bamboo Hat). He has published several collections of poetry. He died in 1971.

[2] Yu shih wen-i 幼獅文藝 (Young Lions' Literature) Vol.34 No.6. (December, 1971), p.275. Hereafter cited as YSWl.

was an integral part of Chinese literature, yet because of its use of a foreign language (Japanese), imposed from above as the literary medium, it was different from the pure Chinese literature of China proper, and was, of course, even more different from pure Japanese literature."[3] In other words, whether a Taiwanese writer wrote in the Chinese or the Japanese language, his very circumstances put a mark on his writing, making it neither purely Chinese nor purely Japanese in tone.

When the Japanese occupied the island of Taiwan in 1895 they found about two thousand privately-operated Chinese language schools. These schools were maintained either through subsidies from wealthy patrons or by the villages in which they were situated. The curriculum consisted of the learning of Chinese calligraphy and the memorization of the Classics. It was important for the Japanese to establish right from the start who was in control. The official ceremony marking the transference of Taiwan from Chinese to Japanese rule in June 1895 had barely taken place, therefore, when the new government established a Temporary Bureau of Education to plan for the training of translators, interpreters and clerks. Shortly after, a school was opened near Taipei so that the sons of leading

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[3] ibid., p.277.

Taiwanese families could be instructed by Japanese teachers.[4]

Within a very short period of time hundreds of Taiwanese were enrolled in Japanese language courses; government primary schools were forbidden to teach in the Taiwanese dialects; and eventually, entry to a government school depended on a child's ability to speak Japanese. In time, selected students were permitted to advance to normal schools.[5]

It was, however, one thing to train young people in the use of a foreign language and quite another to get their parents or members of an even older generation to acquire an adequate knowledge of Japanese, and it was quite common, therefore, for children to communicate in one language at school and in the dialect of their parents at home. Many parents did in fact expect their children to have a reading and speaking knowledge of Chinese; and despite the Japanese presence, short intensive courses in the Peking dialect (chiang-hsi hui 講習會) were organized around the island. In due course "a bilingual elite"[6] grew up within the Taiwanese population.

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[4] See Kerr, George H., Formosa. Licensed Revolution and the Home Rule Movement 1895-1954 (Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii, 1974), p.27.

[5] See Goddard, W.C., Formosa. A Study in Chinese History, (London-New York, Macmillan, St. Martin's Press, uncorrected proofcopy, 1965), p.162.

[6] Kerr, op.cit., p.85.

Literature up to the 1920's was dominated largely by a generation of men who were "sentimental over traditional Chinese forms of verse",[7] who saw the preservation of wen-yen 文言 as "vital to the survival of Chinese culture on Formosa"[8] and who saw themselves as "the rightful custodians of the national heritage."[9] As many of the well-educated, high-ranking Japanese officials had been brought up to appreciate Chinese literature and poetry, they showed a certain leniency towards these scholars and men of letters who persisted in gathering together to compose highly mannered verse in Chinese. In fact, some went so far as to cultivate the friendship of educated Taiwanese and to soften the severity of the tone of their injunctions by couching them in the language of poetry.[10]

The governors-general from 1895 to 1919 were mainly chosen from among generals and admirals, but between 1919 and 1936 the governorship became a civil appointment. The change was brought about as a result of international criticism of Japan's colonial administration following the brutal supression of an anti-Japanese demonstration in Korea in March 1919.[11] With the change

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7 Chen, Lucy H. "Literary Formosa" in Mancall, Mark, ed., Formosa Today (New York, Praeger, 1964), p.131.

8 ibid., p. 132.

9 ibid.

10 See Kerr, op.cit., p.72 and Wu Ying-tao, op.cit., p.277.

11 See Kerr, op.cit., p.23, 121.

came a certain relaxing of control over the Taiwanese, although any suggestion of a challenge to Japanese authority brought immediate retaliation. However, this relaxation of control made it possible for young intellectuals to go abroad to Japan or to China or even further afield to Europe and the United States where they became "exposed to European currents of liberalism and nationalism as well as to the winds of change in China and Japan."[12]

Those who came under the influence of the May Fourth Movement in China, particularly the Literary Revolution, looked, with an increasingly critical eye, at the literary creations of their elders and at their use of an ossified language, the meaning of which was "often obscured by erudite allusion",[13] and they began to agitate upon their return home for the adoption of speech-based prose or pai hua 白話 . New ideas needed a new vehicle of communication, and Hu Shih 胡適 and Ch'en Tu-hsiu 陳獨秀 had shown them the way.[14] They initiated the pai-hua-wen hsin wen-hsüeh

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12 Chen, Lucy, op.cit., p.131.

13 ibid.

14 For a detailed study of the Literary Revolution see Chow Tse-tsung, The May Fourth Movement. Intellectual Revolution in Modern China (Stanford University Press, paperback edition, 1957), pp. 66-77.
For biographical details of Hu Shih and Ch'en Tu-hsiu see BDRC Vol.2 pp.167-174, and Vol.I, pp.240-248 respectively.

yün-tung 白話文新文學運動 (The Vernacular New Literature Movement) in the early 1920's but ran into opposition on two fronts.[15]

Like his counterpart on the mainland the young intellectual came up against the conservatism of his elders who saw in this desire for change a threat to all they held dear. This feeling was, of course, doubly strong in Taiwan where it was, in addition, a question of holding on to one's national heritage in the face of increased Japanization. Not surprisingly, he also encountered opposition from the Japanese who could tolerate the use by a small elite of a highly literary language,but who saw the use of a language that could be understood by all Taiwanese as an act of subversion. However, total repression of the Chinese language was not enforced until the eve of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937.[16]

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15 Three of the leading personalities in the New Literature Movement were Chang Wo-chün 張我軍 Huang Ch'ao-ch'in 黃朝琴 , and Huang Ch'eng-ts'ung 黃呈聰 . Chang Wo-chün, in particular, wrote some very scathing articles in which he poured scorn on the writers of classical poetry, see Ch'en Shao-t'ing, 陳少庭 T'ai-wan hsin wen-hsüeh yün-tung chien shih 臺灣新文學運動簡史 A Brief History of the Taiwan New Literature Movement (Taipei, Lien-ching ch'u-pan shih-yeh kung-szu 聯經出版事業公司 1978), pp.20-30, 162.

16 See Wu Ying-t'ao, op.cit., p.277.

In the meantime, despite the opposition from conservative Chinese, the New Literature Movement began to flourish and the literary scene brightened with the advent of journals and magazines through which the young intellectual could keep abreast of developments on the mainland and elsewhere. The translations into Japanese of European and Russian literature which were readily available to him brought within his reach a whole new range of ideas and he, in turn tried to relate these ideas to his own circumstances and to express what these new intellectual experiences meant to him in a Taiwanese context - part of the Taiwanese context being, of course, the use of either Chinese or Japanese as the medium of expression.[17] Those who wrote in Chinese were either the products of the short, intensive language courses, already referred to, or they had been stimulated by direct contact with the Literary Revolution during visits to the Chinese mainland. Those who wrote in Japanese, on the other hand, did so mainly because they had either studied in Japan or because they had never had the opportunity to receive instruction in Chinese at home. In addition to these two groups, there was a third group that wrote with equal ease in either language. However, according to Wu Ying-t'ao, although

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[17] ibid., p.278. See also Chen, op.cit., p.132 and Kerr, op. cit., p. 182.

the literary tool of the last two groups was the language of the occupying power "... their literary products were so rich in national consciousness that it was impossible to discern any trace of the toxins of a foreign culture; and further, the quality of fierce resistance in their works was not inferior to that of those who wrote in Chinese."[18]

What Wu is in effect saying is that because some writers wrote in Japanese, the conclusion must not be drawn that they were therefore pro-Japanese. It is a fact that when the Taiwanese were no longer able to offer physical resistance, they exhibited their anti-Japanese feelings through "cultural resistance."[19] Writing, both fictional and non-fictional, became a major vehicle for this resistance. Nevertheless, due to the stringent censorship imposed by the Japanese, much resistance had to be "mild and evasive".[20] The exhibition of too fierce a spirit of resistance could well have resulted in the silencing of the writer by more effective methods.

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18 Wu Ying-t'ao, op. cit., p.277.

19 Yen Yüan-shu, "The Japan Experience in Taiwanese Fiction" in Tamkang Review, Vol. IV, No. 2. (October, 1973) p. 167.

20 ibid. On the question of censorship during the Japanese occupation, see Kerr, op. cit., pp.182, 196, and Wu Ying-t'ao, op. cit., p. 281.

The Golden Era of Taiwanese Literature, 1930-1937.

The high-water mark of the new literature movement was a conference which was convened in Taichung on May 6, 1934, from which resulted the formation of an association of artists and writers.

The conference drew some eighty delegates and was held under the watchful eye of the police. Their presence did not deter the delegates from putting up posters around the walls of the conference hall with such slogans as "Away with decadent literature - Effect the popularization of literature,"[21] "Support freedom of speech - Support the literature conference,"[22] "Destroy the idols - Create a new life".[23] The conference touched upon the economic crisis in the world and problems relating to the colony of Taiwan. It made recommendations regarding the direction the new literature movement ought to take; the formation of an organization of writers and artists; the encouragement of artistic endeavour; the popularization of literature; the publication of journals and books; and the possibility of holding lectures and seminars on literature and art. Resolutions were passed and committees were formed for north, central and south Taiwan.

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21 Wu Ying-t'ao, op. cit., p. 281 and Ch'en Shao-t'ing, p.108-109.

22 ibid.

23 ibid.

Despite the presence of the police, which at times generated a tense atmosphere, the conference was considered such a success that a similar gathering was called for the following year.

The immediate result of the conference was the formation of the T'ai-wan wen-i lien-meng 臺灣文藝聯盟 (The Taiwan Union of Literature and Art) which came to incorporate a smaller association, the T'ai-wan wen-i hsieh-hui 臺灣文藝協會 (The Taiwan Association of Literature and Art), established by a group of writers the year before, as well as the publication of the literary journal T'ai-wan wen-i 臺灣文藝 (Taiwan Literature).[24]

The conference which was convened the following year drew an even larger number of delegates, for not only did young Taiwanese writers and students from mainland China hurry home for the occasion, but members of Tokyo-based Taiwanese cultural organizations also made a point of being present.[25]

During the "golden era" of Taiwanese literature, 1930-1937, there were some one hundred and fifty writers of which fifty-three wrote in Chinese, sixty-three in

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24 Wu Ying-t'ao, ibid; Ch'en Shao-t'ing, op.cit., p.120 ff.

25 See Chen, Lucy, op.cit., p.132 and Wo Ying-t'ao op. cit., p.282.

Japanese, and thirty-four who wrote in either language,[26] and, in addition, at least eighteen literary journals saw publication.

Although not a literary journal, mention should be made of the single daily paper which carried several pages of Chinese text as a concession on the part of the Japanese authorities to the older generation of Chinese. The T'ai-wan hsin-min-pao 臺灣新民報 (Taiwan New People's News or Taiwan Shin Mimpo, as it was known to the Japanese) had originally started out as a monthly journal; then it became a weekly, and finally, in 1932, permission was granted for it to become a daily newspaper. According to George Kerr, however, "All Formosans associated with it were under some degree of police surveillance, the proprietors had to accept Japanese on the managerial staff, and every issue was scrutinized to ensure that nothing subversive or offensive to the Japanese appeared on its pages. Despite this, it reflected Formosan opinion to an important degree."[27] And, according to Wu Ying-t'ao, it made a major contribution to language, literature and culture before it was forced to discontinue the Chinese-language section on the eve of the Sino-Japanese war.[28]

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26 Wu Ying-t'ao, op. cit., p. 278.

27 Kerr, op. cit., p. 144.

28 See Wu Ying-t'ao, op. cit., p.278.

One important publication, which concentrated on literary theory, belles-lettres and poetry in pai-hua, was Nan in 南音 (News of the South). Established in 1931, it produced fourteen numbers before its publication was prohibited.

The literary journals which published articles in both Chinese and Japanese fared somewhat better. The Hsien-fa pu duei 先發部隊 (Vanguard), for example, published in Taipei by the Taiwan Association of Literature and Art, printed its first number in Chinese. When the authorities objected, the second number published articles in both Chinese and Japanese. The journal which received most support from writers on the island was, of course, Taiwan Literature, published by the Taiwan Union of Literature and Art. However, increasing pressure from the Japanese coupled with economic difficulties, and the departure from Taiwan of some of the Union's members brought its publication to a standstill at the outbreak of the war between China and Japan.[29]

As successful as the new literature movement was - and a steady stream of novels, plays, short stories and poetry witnessed to its strength[30] - the new literature

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29 ibid., p. 282. See also Ch'en Shao-t'ing, op. cit., p. 180.

30 Lively as the literary scene was during this period, according to Lucy Chen, it produced no literary masterpieces. See Chen, Lucy, op. cit., p.133.

did not displace that being produced by those writers who were determined to write as they had always done, in the "old" style. One of the dominant groups in this respect was the T'ai-wan shih-hui 臺灣詩會 (Taiwan Poets' Assembly) whose journal not only devoted space to living writers, but also included work by eminent writers of the past on the mainland.[31]

The division between those who clung to the "old" and those who advocated the "new" was not allowed to continue indefinitely, for once prohibition of the Chinese language in any form was promulgated, the wrangling between the two factions faded away of its own accord.[32]

The Taiwanese were, of course, not alone in their interest in literature or in the publishing of literary journals. In Taipei alone there were at least sixty different journals published by the Japanese. The contents consisted mostly of traditional Japanese comic songs and poetry. According to Wu Ying-t'ao, however, most of these lost the interest of their Taiwanese readers after the first couple of issues. More successful because of material relating to the Taiwanese scene were Wen-i T'ai-wan 文藝臺灣

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31 See Mao I-po 毛一波 "T'ai-wan ti wen-hsüeh fa-chan" 臺灣的文學發展 . (The Development of Literature in Taiwan) in Chung-yang jih-pao 中央日報 (Central Daily News), October 25, 1958.

32 See Wu Ying-t'ao, op. cit., p.276.

(Literary Taiwan) and Min-su T'ai-wan 民俗臺灣 (Taiwanese Folkways). The latter was not so much a journal devoted to literature as a series of studies of people and customs of the island. In time it became an important publication not only because of a scarcity of reading material after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war, but because it did at least concern itself with local interests. However, both these journals ceased publication in 1944.[33]

The year 1937 and the beginning of the Sino-Japanese war saw the prohibition of all use of the Chinese language except in the case of the journal Nan fang 南方 (The South) which was allowed to continue publishing articles in both wen-yen and pai-hua for the purpose of conveying to its readers the message of the Japanese rulers that greater prosperity for everyone in Asia could only be accomplished under Japanese leadership. In other words, it became very much a journal for disseminating Japanese propaganda.[34] That year also marked a change in the literary scene in Taiwan, for those who had so far been writing in Chinese had to switch to Japanese if they were to continue to write at all. Needless to say, many lost

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[33] ibid., pp. 280.281.

[34] ibid., p. 280.

the creative urge and fell silent.[35] During the remainder of the war anyone with any pretensions to intellectual activity was kept under constant surveillance by the security police and any deviation from the permitted posture resulted in immediate arrest.[36]

The campaign in China did not work out as the Japanese had anticipated. Instead of a swift war and immediate capitulation on the part of the Chinese, it became a protracted affair with the Japanese army being drawn further and further into the interior, thus making the problem of supply acute. However, the invasion of countries and islands in southeast Asia and in the southwest Pacific was accomplished with astonishing ease.

Lying at the hub of the Japanese theatre of operations, Taiwan became an important source of supply both in terms of manpower and material resources. Thousands of Taiwanese were conscripted for duty in labour battalions in Japanese-occupied areas, and at home every able-bodied adult and child was mobilized to "serve the State".[37] Every inch of arable land was made to bear fruit; industries and power resources were worked to maximum capacity, and Taiwan became a

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35 See Mao I-po, op. cit.

36 See Chen, Lucy, op. cit., p. 133 and Kerr, op.cit., pp. 197-198.

37 Kerr, op. cit., p. 215

transit camp for soldiers going to or from the various fronts.

By 1943, however, Japan was beginning to feel the strain of maintaining its armed forces over such a large area; and the anticipated co-operation on the part of those who were meant to be grateful for their liberation from Western imperialists did not eventuate. The tide had also begun to turn for the Allies, and by the end of 1944 it was beginning to be obvious that there could only be one outcome to the war. The end came on August 14, 1945; and as had been promised in the Cairo Declaration,[38] Taiwan was handed back to China a few months later.

The Immediate Post-war Period

The people of Taiwan greeted the news of Japan's surrender with mixed feelings: part elation because they no longer were second-class citizens under foreign rule, and part uncertainty about the future of the island. It was assumed that they would have some say over the way the island was to be governed,[39] but their hopes and aspirations were to be dashed, and this was true not only in the political and economic fields, but in the intellectual field as well. If writers had hoped for renewed contact with the literary scene on the

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38 ibid., p. 218.

39 ibid., pp. 232-234.

mainland they were to be bitterly disappointed, for they were denied access to any of the writings of the giants of modern literature due to the latter's association with the Communists.[40]

The writer who tried to switch back to the use of Chinese found he no longer wrote Chinese with ease. The complete prohibition on the use of the Chinese language between 1937 and the end of the war, coupled with the dearth of good literature after 1945 had seen to that. His confidence was further eroded when in 1949 established writers and aspiring writers suddenly arrived in Taiwan among the refugees who followed in the wake of Chiang Kai-shek and his government. He found he could not compete with them in their command of the language, and he therefore fell silent and left the field to his mainland counterpart.[41] Almost a decade

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40 All the works of Lu Hsün 魯迅, Pa Chin 巴金 and Lao She 老舍, for example, were banned in Taiwan. See Hsia, Tsi-an, "Appendix" in Hsia, C.T., A History of Modern Chinese Fiction, 1917 - 1957, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2nd print. 1962), p.509-510.

41 See Chen, Lucy, op.cit., p.134 and Mu Chung-nan, 穆中南, "Man t'an tzu-yu Chung-kuo shih nien lai ti wen-i" 漫談自由中國十年來的文藝 (Comments on Free China's Literature over the last Ten Years) in Wen t'an chi-k'an, 文壇季刊 (Literature Forum Quarterly) Vol.7. (Taipei, July,1960) pp.9-14. Hereafter cited as WT. An interesting point is put forward by Ho Hsin 何欣 with regard to the manner in which mainland writers failed to gear their writing to a Taiwanese public. No one seemed to see what an important part literature had to play in the process of sinicizing (Han-hua 漢化) the Taiwanese. No writer aimed at producing simply-written, easily-understood literature in the National Language for young Taiwanese. Even the newspaper supplements failed in this respect. See Ho Hsin, 何欣, "San-shi nien lai ti hsiao -

went by before the Taiwanese writer re-emerged to play his part on the literary scene.[42]

The Mainland Writer and the 1949 Debacle

The scene that greeted the mainland writer upon his arrival in Taiwan was far from encouraging. The sudden influx of over two million refugees, of which he was one, put a grave strain on the island's economy. The competition for housing, food and employment was fierce. The future looked bleak and uncertain, and he was suffering from homesickness and despair. Had he felt the inclination to write, he would have found it difficult to locate a publisher or bookseller who would have been willing to risk his capital on what was bound to be an uncertain enterprise at a time when the market was depressed and paper was scarce.[43]

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shuo" 三十年來的小說 (Fiction of the Last Thirty Years) in Chung-hua wen-hua fu-hsing yüeh-k'an 中華文化復興月刊 (The China Cultural Renaissance Monthly) 114, Vol.10, No. 9, (Taipei, September, 1977), p.23. Hereafter cited as FHYK.

42 See Chung Chao-cheng 鍾肇政, ed. Pen sheng chi tso-chia tso-p'in hsüan-chi 本省籍作家作品選集 (A Collection of Works by Native Taiwanese Writers), Nos.1-10. Taipei, Wen t'an she 文壇社, 1965.

43 See Yin Hsüeh-man, 尹雪曼 "Erh-shih nien lai wo kuo wen-i kung-tso chih hui-ku chi chin hou ch'uang-tsao ti mu-piao" 二十年來我國文藝工作之回顧及今後創造的目標 (Our Country's Literary Work over the Last Twenty Years in Retrospect, and Our Aims for Future Literary Creativity), in FHYK, Vol. 4 No.5, (May 1, 1971), p.24.

As we have already seen, a combination of circumstances eventually effected a change in the mental outlook of those who had sought refuge in Taiwan. The first was the resumption by Chiang Kai-shek of the Presidential Office, and the second was American aid. The situation obviously did not improve overnight, but the President provided a rallying point and the aid programme held out hope for a better future.

One of the main preoccupations of both politicians and those writers who identified with the government at that time was a great degree of soul-searching and internal questioning as to why the Kuomintang had lost out to the Communists. In his address to the Extra-ordinary Meeting of the Central Standing Committee of the Kuomintang, July 22, 1950, Chiang Kai-shek put the blame for the Party's failure squarely on factional conflicts within the Party; on lack of discipline, and on a decline in morale. These he saw as being more responsible for the deat than the "formidable strength of the Communists."[44]

Contemplating the literary scene on the Chinese mainland in much the same manner as Chiang Kai-shek had contemplated the political scene, many mainland writers

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44 "Reform Program of the Kuomintang" in Shieh, Milton, J.T. The Kuomintang: Selected Historical Documents 1894-1969. (St. John's University, Center of Asian Studies, 1970), p.210.

drew similar conclusions. Just as Chiang sought to criticize elements within his own party, so these writers assigned some of the blame for the loss of the mainland to the writer himself.

After making a fairly comprehensive survey of the literary scene from the May Fourth Movement up to the time of the retreat of the government to Taiwan, P'eng P'in-kuang 彭品光 [45] a novelist and former naval officer, says, when writing about this period some years later, "There are some who lay the blame for the loss of the mainland in 1949 on the armed forces. There are others who see it as a political and economic defeat. The causes are many. But that it was also a defeat in the field of literature and art is a fact no one can deny."[46] What happened, he asks, to the

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[45] P'eng P'in-kuang was born in Anhwei in 1926. He was trained at the Anhwei Political Institute and Political Staff College. He was editor-in-chief of the Anhwei min-sheng san jih k'an 安徽民聲三日刊 (The Anhwei People's Voice) and of the Wan pao fu-k'an 皖報副刊 (The Wan [Anhwei] News Supplement). Later he was reporter for the Nanjing ho-p'ing jih pao 南京和平日報 (Nanking Peace Daily). He joined the navy, an event which had a profound influence on his writing as many of his short stories and novels are woven around the navy. In Taiwan he has been closely connected with naval publications as well as with some of the major daily papers.

[46] P'eng, P'in-kuang, "Hsin wen-i yün-tung ti hui-ku" 新文藝運動的回顧 (The New Literature Movement in Retrospect) in Chung-kuo wen-i nien-chien pien-chi wei-yüan-hui, ed. 中國文藝年鑑編輯委員會 Chung-kuo wen-i nien-chien, 1966 中國文藝年鑑一九六六 (China Literature and Art Yearbook, 1966), Taipei, P'ing-yüan ch'u-pan-she 平原出版社 1966), p.35. Hereafter cited as WINC.

kind of literature that raised the morale and gave courage to the people during the war of resistance against Japan? As far as he could see, he says, literature became ineffectual during the final confrontation with Communism, and this as much as anything else contributed to the "total defeat."[47]

Writing in a similar vein, although employing rather more anti-Communist jargon than P'eng, Jen Cho-hsüan 任卓宣 [48], a San Min Chu I 三民主義 (The Three Principles of the People)[49] apologist, describes how the Communists used literature in a "frontal attack"[50] on the nation , in the process of which they "destroyed the loyalty of the people."[51] Jen then asks what the non-Communist writers were doing, and concludes that instead of presenting a united front, they were either so concerned about the propagation of individualism or so intent on not mixing art and politics that they had

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47 ibid

48 Jen Cho-hsüan was born in Szechuan 1896. He was educated at the Nan-ch'eng District Middle School and the French Language School in Peking. He went to France as a participant in the work-study programme and joined the French Communist Party in 1921. He was deported for being a political agitator among Chinese students in France. He then studied at the Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow before returning to China. He was arrested and sentenced to death in Changsha in 1927 for his Communist activities. He survived the execution and resumed his political activities until his second arrest, whereupon he renounced his affiliation with the Communist Party. He remained a Marxist, however, until 1937 when he began to study Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People and became a convert to his philosophy. He then devoted his time and energy to his writing and lecturing on the Three Principles of the People. He also taught at various colleges and universities in China and was for a short time Vice-Chairman of the Kuomintang's propaganda department.

nothing to present as an effective counterweight to Communist literature. "At the time," says Jen, "... we had no definite literary policy; everything was too laissez-faire, too desultory, too fragmented. Everyone pleased himself, with the result that we were beaten, one by one."[52]

In order to determine whether the criticisms made by P'eng P'in-kuang and Jen Cho-hsüan are valid or not, we need to look briefly at the period reviewed by these two writers.

According to Jen, one of the major reasons for the lack of cohesion among non-Communist writers was the lack of a literary policy. Having a literary policy, of course, suggests commitment to a specific philosophy; and whereas there is no doubt at all that all Communist writers or left-wing sympathizers were committed to the cause of spreading the gospel of Socialism, it certainly cannot be said that there was a similar dedication among all non-Communist writers to the dissemination and

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In Taiwan he has taught at the Political Staff College and continued to write and lecture. He has received awards from the government for his efforts to promote adherence to the Three Principles of the People. For further details see BDRC Vol. 2 pp.216-219.

49 The Three Principles of the People, Nationalism (Min-tsu 民族), Democracy (Min-ch'üan 民權) and Livelihood (Min-sheng 民生) is the ideological base of the Kuomintang which was founded by Sun Yat-sen in 1924. See Hsü, Immanuel, op.cit., pp.557-558.

50 Jen Cho-hsüan, "Wen-i cheng-ts'e lun" 文藝政策論 (On Literary Policy) in WT No.4 (Taipei, May, 1959), p.6.

51 ibid.

52 ibid.

implementation of the philosophy contained in Sun Yat-sen's The Three Principles of the People. Being anti-communist did not necessarily mean being pro-Kuomintang. On the contrary, there were writers who wanted to pursue their craft without being dictated to by either the right or the left. Known as "the third kind of writer" (ti san chung jen 第三種人),[53] they insisted on the independence of literature from politics. Needless to say, their works were ridiculed and their persons subjected to virulent attacks by the left.[54] This did not drive them into the arms of the Kuomintang, however, for government censorship, oppressive publishing restrictions and the brutal suppression of left-wing writers alienated many writers who might otherwise have been more sympathetic to the government's anti-Communist stance.[55]

There was, however, a hard core of writers who were closely associated with the Kuomintang. They had initiated a nationalist literary movement in the 1930's in order to counteract the activities of the League of

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53 See Lang, Olga, Pa Chin and His Writings, (Cambridge, Mass, Harvard University Press, 1967) pp.156-157; Hsia, C.T., op.cit., p.127, and also Su Hsüeh-lin, "Present Day Fiction and Drama" in Schyns, Jos., 1500 Modern Chinese Novels and Plays, (Peiping, Catholic University Press, 1948), p.XIX.

54 See Su Hsüeh-lin, op.cit., p.XIX.

55 For details concerning government censorship and suppression of left-wing writers see biographies of Cheng Chen-to 鄭振鐸 and Ch'eng She-wo 成仿吾 in BDRC Vols.I.pp.268,288, and Hsia, T.A., Gate of Darkness, Studies on the Leftist Literary Movement in China, Seattle, University of Washington, 1968.

Left-wing Writers;[56] and, after Mao Tse-tung's "Talk on Art and Literature" at the Yenan Forum in May, 1942,[57] they became sufficiently concerned at the lengths to which the Communist leadership would go to achieve its avowed aims to gather together to discuss the possibilities of encouraging a literature that would not just be enclosed within class limits, but would serve all strata of society - a literature which would be positive, realistic, nationalistic and meaningful to worker and intellectual alike.

What provided the impetus was the San Min Chu I Cultural Movement which had been inaugurated in the Kiangsi, Hunan, Kwangtung and Fukien provinces, among others.[58] The movement raised the question of the possibility of having a San Min Chu I literature, but this in turn raised the question: What was a San Min Chu I literature? There was no work that could specifically be called representative of a San Min Chu I philosophy, neither was there a systematic literary theory that could guide writers towards a San Min Chu

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56 See Lang, op.cit., p.156 and Hsia, C.T., op.cit., p.126.

57 For a digest of Mao's "Talks" see Hsia, C.T. op.cit., pp.308-314, and Goldman, Merle, Literary Dissent in Communist China, (Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press, 1967), pp.34-37.

58 See Wang Chi-ts'ung 王集叢, San Min Chu I wen-hsüeh-lun 三民主義文學論 (Literary Theory based on The Three Principles of the People), Pamir Shu-tien 帕米爾書店 1st edit. 1943, (reprinted by Taipei, Hsien-tai yin-shua she 現代印刷社 1952), Preface, p.1.

I type of creative writing. Organizations were formed, seminars were held and publications were prepared. It was suggested that the immediate aim should be to work out a literary theory, produce creative writing and apply the literary theory as a measuring device when reviewing a particular work. After a work had been critically reviewed, the public should be informed of its merits. That was the ideal. The reality was somewhat different.

Like the age-old problem of which came first, the chicken or the egg, so, once again, the question was raised as to whether theory came before the facts or the facts before the theories. Those who were involved in creative writing maintained that the writing of original literature was more important than literary theory, while those who argued from the opposite point of view declared that one had to start out from a certain premise which would dictate the direction a piece of writing should take. In the case of a San Min Chu I literature, a writer would write from the standpoint of a San Min Chu I Weltanschauung.

Although there were "not a few"[59] writers who "held literary theory in high esteem",[60] most looked down on the theorist and critic, while the theorist and critic "wore the self-satisfied look of 'the supervisor'".[61]

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59 ibid.

60 ibid.

61 ibid.

The argumentation that ensued brought in the then Minister of Information, Chang Tao-fan 張道藩[62] who was also chairman of the Kuomintang Cultural Movement Committee. In an article entitled, "Women suo hsü-yao ti wen-i cheng-ts'e" 我們所需要的文藝政策 (The Literary Policy which We Require), which was published in the journal Wen-hua hsien-feng 文化先鋒 (The Spearhead of Culture)[63] and later reprinted in the Chung-yang jih-pao 中央日報 (Central Daily News) on November 14,15 and 17, 1942, Chang Tao-fan called for a literary policy that would act as a guideline to writers in the face of renewed pressure from the left.

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62 Chang Tao-fan, government official, playwright and painter was born in Kweichow, 1897. He was the first Chinese student to study at the Slade School of Fine Arts, London in 1921. From 1924 to 1926 he studied at the Ecole Nationale Superieure des Beaux Art, Paris. He returned to China in 1926. From 1938 on he held senior government and party posts and accompanied Chiang Kai-shek to India in 1942. During the war he was chairman of the Central Cultural Movement Committee, a committee that was established under the auspices of the Central Propaganda Bureau for the express purpose of giving support to those literary and art workers who had accompanied the government into the interior.

In Taiwan he was one of originators of The China Association of Literature and Art and was a driving force behind the setting-up of the Literature and Art Awards Committee in 1950. Chang was president of the Legislative Yuan from 1952 to 1959. In 1964 he was made vice-chairman of the board of directors of the Chungshan Academic and Cultural Fund. He died in 1968. For further biographical details see BDRC Vol.1., pp.112-114.

63 Wen-hua hsien-feng was a bi-monthly journal the first issue of which was published on October 10, 1942, by the Kuomintang Cultural Movement Committee. It's first editor was Wang Chin-shan 王進珊 who was followed by Li Ch'en-tung 李辰冬. See Yin Hsüeh-man, ed., Chung-hua min-kuo wen-i-shih 中華民國文藝史

Ostensibly, both left and right had buried their differences in order to present a united front vis à vis the Japanese. The result of this united front had been a profusion of war propaganda designed to heighten the people's spirit of resistance. But it had proved to be an uneasy alliance which kept breaking down, and in view of the constant attempt on the part of Communist writers to discredit the government in the eyes of the people,[64] Chang felt the need to analyse the reasons for the ineffectualness of Kuomintang writers and to propose remedies which would help to produce a literature that could redress the balance.

In his article Chang Tao-fan suggested that ideas from Europe, and particularly those pertaining to literature like romanticism, naturalism, realism, individualism and a whole host of other isms had created such a confusion in the minds of writers that those qualities which had traditionally made Chinese literature great had been lost sight of. Realism, for example, was so determined to expose the dark sides of life that it had forgotten that life was not exclusively

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(A History of Literature of Republican China), (Taipei, Cheng-chung shu-chü 正中書局, 1975), p.71. Hereafter cited as WIS.

64 See Vohra, Ranbir, Lao She and the Chinese Revolution (Cambridge, Mass, Harvard University Press, 1974), p.3, and Hsia, C.T., op.cit., p.313.

seamy or poverty-stricken, or without its moments of joy. Literature should be something more than a mirror held up against the worst aspects of society. It should be uplifting; it should help society to develop, to progress. In a nutshell, it should be positive, not negative. In as much as all these isms were foreign importations which were tearing people apart and sowing the seeds of division, it was essential to get back to one's roots and to recapture that national consciousness (min-tsu i-shih 民族意識) which had found expression in the eight cardinal virtues[65] and which were at the base of China's earlier literature.

Yet, a national literature which was now being advocated, did not mean a resurrection of the past in the sense of returning to traditional forms. China no longer lived in isolation and its literature had been touched by the West; it should therefore be imbued with a cosmopolitan spirit so that it could contribute to the world scene.

The main trouble with the literature that was being produced at the time, said Chang, was that the mood of pessimism that had gripped society was creeping into literature as well. Writers who ought to be committed

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65 The eight cardinal virtues (ba-te 八德) are loyalty (chung 忠), filial piety (hsiao-孝), benevolence (jen 仁), love (ai 愛), faithfulness (hsin 信), justice (i 義), harmony, (ho 和), and peace (p'ing 平).

to a creed, who ought to know what society was all about and who ought to display a spirit of perseverance, filling their traditional role as leaders in society, were in fact drifting; they were being blown about by their own moods or selfish desires.

If man was dissatisfied with reality, he continued, then literature ought to provide that whereby he might find the solution to his dissatisfaction. That, as much as anything else, was the function of literature.

If there was a single principle that could combine realism and idealism in a Chinese context at that moment in time, said Chang Tao-fan, it was Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People; and a literature based on the philosophy of the Three Principles of the People would provide the solution to man's discontent. What China could well do without, was a proletarian literature which provoked class-hatred and fanned the flames of dissension.

Chang's advice to writers, therefore, was: not to write exclusively about social evils nor to stir up class hatred; not to let their writing be coloured by the pessimistic nor the overly romantic; to refrain from writing that which was meaningless; to create a national literature which should be aimed at the common people; to write from a national standpoint, and to employ their intellect in the use of the realistic form. Known later as the "Six Don'ts" (liu pu 六不) and "Five Do's" (wu yao 五要) after the article's section headings,[66] the

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66 See WIS, pp.70-71.

article set in motion a series of discussions in which the participants were such eminent men as the Shakespearean scholar, Liang Shih-Ch'iu 梁實秋,[67] and Abbot T'ai Hsu 太虛,[68] among others.[69]

A month later The Spearhead of Culture carried an article by Liang Shih-ch'iu entitled "Kuan-yü wen-i cheng-ts'e" 關於文藝政策 (On a Literary Policy) in which he not only gave Chang Tao-fan his support, but also took issue with Mao Tse-tung's view, espoused at the Yenan Forum on literature and art earlier in the year, that there is only human nature of a class

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67 Liang Shih-ch'iu, literary critic, teacher and translator of Western literature was born in Peking in 1902. He was educated at Tsinghua University. In 1923 he went to the United States and entered Colorado College, Colorado Springs. He did post-graduate work in English literature at Harvard University. Upon his return to China he taught English literature at several universities. He was a leading figure in the Crescent Moon Society (Hsin-yueh 新月) which was formed in conjunction with Hu Shih 胡適 and Hsu Chih-mo 徐志摩 to counteract the idea that literature should be an instrument of political action as expounded by left-wing circles. Liang proposed a national literature which would borrow its discipline from the literature of traditional China and its form from the classic literature from the West. He translated Western classics so that the Chinese reader might become acquainted with the best in the European tradition. Liang was Professor of English at Peking University in 1934. During the war he was a member of the People's Political Council. From 1946 to 1949 he was Professor of English Literature at the Peking Normal University, after which he went to Taiwan and taught at Taiwan Normal University. He has translated twenty of Shakespeare's plays into Chinese. For further biographical details see BDRC Vol.2, pp.353-354.

68 T'ai Hsu, 1890-1947 was a Buddhist monk of the "Consciousness Only" School. He initiated a movement of modernization and reform of Buddhism. He was head of the Wuchang Buddhist Institute. He travelled extensively abroad in the nineteen twenties and met

character in a class society and that there is no human nature above classes.[70] What is being described in literature, said Liang, is human nature, a nature, the emotions and characteristics of which are common to all mankind. The social class from which material is drawn or the class cause being espoused is of no consequence, he said. A literary work is either good or bad; it either succeeds in what it sets out to do or it does not. One cannot ask to which class it belongs. Human nature here cannot be divided into social classes. Where man differs from birds and beasts is in his having a nature that is superior to theirs, a nature which is common to all mankind.

Now San Min Chu I literature, said Liang, truly manifests this commonly-shared nature, and is, in fact, the only literature which does so; it consequently has lasting value. Lasting value, of course, is not the same as truth; it is simply that by which the concept of literary value is determined.[71]

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leading philosophers. He lectured at many universities, among them, Columbia and Yale. During the war he lectured, wrote voluminously, and organized medical relief work and social welfare projects in Szechuan. For further biographical details see BDRC Vol.3, pp.207-210.

69 Other participants were, for example, the poet, short story writer and essayist, Wang P'ing-ling 王平陵; the dramatist and literary theorist, Wang Chi-ts'ung 王集叢, and the literary theorist, Chao Yu-p'ei 趙友培 see WIS, p.70.

70 See Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works Vol.III,(Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1965),p.90.

71 See WIS,p.74. Liang Shih-ch'iu's article was printed in Wen-hua hsien-feng (The Spearhead of Culture), Vol.1, No.8, October, 1942.

If those who participated in these discussions on literature had hoped that the ideas expressed would capture the imagination of the non-aligned writer, they must have been sadly disappointed. There was no sudden rush to create a San Min Chu I literature. And if they had hoped that the government would formulate a literary policy which would be as binding on the Kuomintang writer as the Communist literary policy was on the Communist writer, they were to be equally disillusioned. The government was far too pre-occupied with trying to contain the Communists geographically[72] to give much positive thought to this aspect of the battle that was being waged for the minds of the people.

Writing at the time, Wang Chi-ts'ung 王集叢[73], a literary theorist, offered the following explanation for the lack of a literary policy. "The originator of the Three Principles of The People, the Founding Father, Mr. Sun Yat-sen, and his successor, President Chiang, are

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72 Edmund Clubb states that between 1941 and 1944 "China's war against Japan was largely in suspense as far as Chungking was concerned. But a strong military cordon was set up around the Chinese Communist base in Northwest China."
Clubb, E.O. Twentieth Century China, (New York Columbia University Press, 1964), p.234.

73 Wang Chi-ts'ung, dramatist and literary theorist was born in Szechuan 1905. He graduated from the China College of Fine Arts, Shanghai. He was editor of the Sao-t ang Pao 掃蕩報 (Clean Sweep) and Chung-yang jih-pao 中央日報 (Central Daily News) in Chungking. He was editorial writer of the Shih-shih hsin pao 時事新報 (Current Events). In Taiwan he was appointed to the directorship of Central Broadcasting Station in 1966. He has written many books on literature and literary theory from a San Min

eminent revolutionary leaders, thinkers and politicians, but they are not literary men. All their energy is spent in leading the revolution of "arousing the people to action", and they have no time to spare to consider literature. In all their various writings and lectures we find a vigorous and correct philosophy, political and economic theories as well as theories regarding the social sciences, yet we find no views which specifically explain and discuss literature."[74]

Literary man or not, Chiang Kai-shek was to make up for this omission in 1953, four years after the mainland had been lost to his opponents. In the meantime it was left to the Kuomintang literary theorists to make suggestions which writers either took to heart and acted on or not, depending on their political and artistic inclinations.

The defeat of the Japanese ended one war, but it also opened up another in earnest: the conflict between the Kuomintang and the Communists. Deteriorating conditions, inflation, mismanagement and corruption on the part of government officials all helped to drive those

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Chu I point of view. Among his works are, San Min Chu I wen-hsüeh lun 三民主義文學論 (On San Min Chu I Literature); Hsieh-tso yü p'i-p'ing 寫作與批評 (Writing and Criticism).

74 Wang Chi-ts'ung, San Min Chu I wen-hsüeh lun 三民主義文學論 (On San Min Chu I Literature) (Pamir shu-tien 帕米爾書店, First edition 1943, reprinted by Taipei, Hsien-tai yin-shua she 現代印刷社, 1952), p.1.

who had still been vacillating, politically, into the Communist camp.[75]

One last-ditch effort on the part of Kuomintang writers was made around the end of 1947. It took the form of a call for a renaissance in literature and art. Ku Yü-hsiu 顧毓琇,[76] former Vice-Minister of Education and Chancellor of National Central University, lent his support by writing a long article entitled "Chung-kuo ti wen-i fu-hsing" 中國的文藝復興 (The Renaissance of China's Literature and Art) which was published in five instalments in the Central Daily News in December of that year.[77] Ku maintained that a movement for national revival had to comprise: political revolution, social reconstruction and a renaissance of literature and art. The three went hand in hand and were of equal importance. Whereas in Europe and in India the

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75 See Goldman, op.cit., p.67.

76 Ku Yü-hsiu, electrical engineer, educator, playwright, was born in Kiangsu, 1901. He graduated from Tsinghua University and gained his doctorate in science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He was Professor and Dean of electrical engineering at the National Chekiang University 1929-1931. He was Dean of College of Engineering, National Central University 1931-1932, and Dean of College of Engineering, Tsinghua University 1932-1937. He was Vice-Minister of Education in 1938-1944, and Chancellor of National Central University 1944-1945. He was appointed Education Commissioner, Shanghai Municipal Government in August 1945. He is a delegate to the National Assembly and a member of Academia Sinica. He has written several plays that have received public acclaim.

77 Chung-yang jih-pao, December 15, 19, 21, 26, 28, 1947.

literary renaissance was the starting-point for reformation and revolution, said Ku, in China the order had been reversed. The national renaissance in China had started with a revolution under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen, which had been followed by a literary renaissance, which in turn had been followed by social reform. What had put an end to the grand schemes that had been envisaged for the reform of society was the encroachment of the Japanese and the Sino-Japanese war. But this was the year 1947 and the world situation was rather different. The world had witnessed a global war and the devastation brought by the atomic bomb. It was living in a scientific age which demanded a new "Weltanschauung". It was therefore imperative to take stock of the situation and to make recommendations. Coming to the question of literature, Ku made an appeal to his literary friends to look "fairly"[78] and "calmly"[79] at what was needed, in the manner of a Hu Shih 胡適 [80] or a

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78 Ku Yü-hsiu, "Chung-kuo ti wen-i fu-hsing. (I.) Wen-hsüeh ko-ming yü wen-i fu-hsing" 中國的文藝復興 (一) 文學革命與文藝復興 (The Renaissance of China's Literature and Art. Part I. The Literary Revolution and the Renaissance of Literature and Art), in Chung-yang jih-pao, December 15, 1947.

79 ibid.

80 Hu Shih, 1891-1962. He was educated at Cornell and Columbia Universities, U.S.A. His promotion of the use of pai-hua triggered off the literary and cultural movements of the 1920's. He evaluated the Chinese tradition; he wrote on aspects of Chinese philosophy; he made a study of the great pai-hua novels. With Liang Shih-ch'iu and others he established the Crescent Moon Society. He served as Ambassador to the United

Ch'en Tu-hsiu 陳獨秀[81] some three decades earlier.

As far as he himself could see, literature needed to rediscover "the cultural source of creation"[82] which meant going back to one's traditional literature, not for form and content, but for its"vitality".[83] It should, in addition, be related to the spirit of the times by being "realistic",[84] not in the sense of copying the "superficial...effects"[85] imported from abroad, but in the sense of being conscious of the times.

Reviewing the contributions made by former dynasties, Ku maintained that those who had contributed most to literature through the ages were those who had found their "vitality" for creation" (ch'uang-tsao ti huo-li 創造的活力) in "the source of the national culture" (min-tsu wen-hua ti ken-yuan 民族文化的根源

States 1938-1942. He became president of the Academia Sinica in Taiwan in 1958. A speech delivered in Taipei started the East-West Controversy in 1962. For further biographical details see BDRC Vol.2, pp.167-174.

81 Ch'en Tu-hsiu, 1879-1942, was editor of the journal Hsin ch'ing-nien 新青年 (New Youth) which became the principal organ for the Chinese Literary Renaissance. Through his writings he came to have a profound influence on China's young intellectuals. Ch'en founded the Communist Party in 1921 and was its leader until he was deposed in 1927. He was expelled from the Party in 1930 after which he headed a Trotskyite opposition until he was arrested and imprisoned by the authorities in 1932. He went into a gradual decline after his release in 1937, and he died in 1942. For further biographical details see BDRC Vol.1, pp.240-248.

82 Ku Yü-hsiu, op.cit.

83 ibid.

84 ibid.

85 ibid.

Any renaissance at that particular moment needed to recognize this fact; it needed to re-evaluate the past, take a fresh look at the national heritage and to choose that which would be of benefit to a modern society. It had not been all that long ago since China had seen its heritage as a hindrance to its proper development as a nation among other nations and had done its best to throw out the old and bring in the new. But times had changed and the needs of the world had changed; and the world needed a renewed China. "The problems of the world today are too serious," wrote Ku. "If China is not restored, the world will not have peace; but if China is restored, the world may have peace."[86] The renewal of China was to come from its reappraisal of its national heritage coupled with a willingness to benefit from cultural interchange.

At the time Ku was writing, there was in fact a brief blossoming of a new kind of literature which owed something to both the Chinese tradition as well as to

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86 Ku Yü-hsiu, "Chung-kuo ti wen-i fu-hsing, (三), Wen-hua chiao-liu yü shih-tai shih-ming" 文化交流與時代使命 (The Renaissance of China's Literature and Art. Part 3. Cultural Interchange and the Mission of the Times), in Chung-yang jih-pao, December 21,1947.

western literature. A new generation of writers who had delved deeply into both western and traditional Chinese literature, who had learnt from the mistakes made by their immediate predecessors, and who had "reacquired the sense of tradition"[87] were creating a new literature which unfortunately came to an abrupt end with the Communist take-over of the mainland.

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87 Hsia. C.T., op.cit., p.324. Hsia includes the following among these new writers: Wu Hsing-hua 吳興華 (Liang Wen-hsin 梁文星); Eileen Chang (Chang Ai-ling) 張愛玲 and Ch'ien Chung-shu 錢鍾書 For biographical details of the last two writers see Li Li-ming 李立明 , Chung-kuo hsien-tai liu-pai tso-chia hsiao-chuan 中國現代六百作家小傳 (Sketch Biographies of Six Hundred Modern Chinese Writers), (Hong Kong, Po Wen Book Co. 波文書局 1977), pp.372, 531.

Chapter Three

Reconstruction: 1949 - 1954

The "defeat in the field of literature and art" which was acknowledged by P'eng P'in-kuang and Jen Cho-hsüan in their appraisal of the period just reviewed was to have its repercussions for some considerable time. But the transfer of the central government to Taiwan and Chiang Kai-shek's resumption of the office of President on March 1, 1950, marked the beginning of a slow recovery and of greater government involvement in the arts. When analysing the reasons for the loss of the mainland of China, it was not just the writer who "felt pangs over past mistakes".[1] Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang too were forced to acknowledge that they had lost the initiative in the political and psychological battle by countering the Communists' "unlimited war with limited war"[2] and by taking too little cognizance of literature as a force for good or as an antidote against Communism.

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1 Hu Hsiao 呼嘯 "Tsui-chin chieh-tuan wen-i fa-chan kai-shu" 最近階段文藝發展概述 (An Outline of the Most Recent Stage of Our Literary Development), WINC, p.36.

2 Chiang Kai-shek, A Summing-up at Seventy. Soviet Russia in China, (London, George G. Harrap & Co, 1957), p.218. See also Shieh, Milton, J.T., The Kuomintang: Selected Historical Documents, 1894-1969 (Center of Asian Studies, St. John's University Press, 1970), pp.210-216.

The conclusion was reached that if the same mistakes were not to be repeated in Taiwan, it was necessary to recognize the importance of the arts and the need to induce writers to produce literature that would help bolster public morale, keep alive anti-Communist sentiments and create a more positive climate. That the writing that appeared in the newspaper supplements of the day did none of these things was evident to Chiang Kai-shek as he perused the supplements during his retirement in the mountain resort of Yangmingshan near Taipei prior to his reinstatement as President. Apart from historical anecdotes and tales regarding the chivalry and prowess of ancient swordsmen, the literary offerings, even in government-owned papers, were either so pessimistic or so offensive to public decency that they gave him cause for alarm. One way of rectifying the situation, felt Chiang, was to create an artistic body which would invite submissions, adjudicate and reward the best of the entries and thereby set standards for other writers to emulate. Consequently, Chiang invited Chang Tao-fan, the politician-playwright who had played such a prominent role in laying down guidelines for writers in the early 1940's, to establish an award committee in conjunction with a team of ten eminent scholars and artists, the most notable being

Lo Chia-lun 羅家倫,[3] the historian, educator and poet, who as a student had been one of the principle leaders of the May Fourth Movement in 1918-1919; Chang Ch'i-yün 張其昀,[4] scholar and official who was one of the councillors on Academia Sinica when it was inaugurated in 1935; Liang Shih-ch'iu, the Shakespearean

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[3] Lo Chia-lun, 1896-1969. Whilst studying at Peking University, Lo became involved in the Chinese Renaissance Movement of 1918, 1919. It was he who gave it the name the May Fourth Movement. In January 1919 he founded the magazine Hsin ch'ao 新潮 (New Tide), he also translated into Chinese one of Ibsen's plays which was published in Hsin ch'ing-nien 新青年 (New Youth).
In 1920 Lo left for the United States to study history at Princeton and Columbia universities. From 1922 to 1926 he studied also at London, Berlin and Paris universities. Upon his return to China he became Professor of History at National Southeastern University. He became President of Tsinghua in 1928 and Chancellor of National Central University in 1932. He was simultaneously during this period a member of the Political Council and Foreign Affairs Committee. He was made Supervisory Commissioner for Sinkiang in 1942, a position he held until 1946 when he was made Ambassador to India.
In 1950 Lo became advisor to the President and from 1952 to 1954 he was Vice-President of the Examination Yuan. In 1957 he was made President of Academia Historica.
Most of his publications are concerned with the history of China, the Kuomintang and national problems. For further biographical details see BDRC Vol. 2, pp.429-431.

[4] Chang Ch'i-yün, b. Chekiang, 1901. Chang took his degree at National Central University, Nanking. He taught history and geography for many years at National Central and Chekiang universities, eventually becoming professor at National Central and Dean of the College of Arts. In 1943 he went to the United States as visiting-professor; and in 1949 he accompanied Chiang Kai-shek on his visit to the Philippines and to Korea. His move to Taiwan resulted in his being made Secretary-General of the Kuomintang Central Reorganization Committee. From 1954 to 1958 he was Minister of Education, during which time he re-established Tsinghua University, and Chiaotung University in Taiwan. He restored the National Central Library and founded the

scholar, and Ch'eng T'ien-fang 程天放,[5] the Minister of Education.[6] Meeting in a small office loaned by the China Broadcasting Corporation, the ten committee members formally established the Chung-hua wen-i chiang-chin wei-yuan-hui 中華文藝獎金委員會 (The Chinese Literature and Art Award Committee) in April, 1950,[7] and immediately resolved that prizes - either a cash award for the best

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National Historical Museum and National Taiwan Science Hall. On his resignation from the Ministry in 1958 he was made director of the National War College. His publications deal with Chinese culture, history, geography, and Sino-American relations. For further biographical details see BDRC, Vol. 1, pp.24-26.

5 Ch'eng T'ien-fang, b. Chekiang 1899. He took his BA and MA degrees at the University of Illinois, and received his doctorate at the University of Toronto. Upon his return to China he taught at National Central University. After spending two years as Education Commissioner and Acting Governor in Anhwei, 1929-1931, he became Chancellor of Chekiang University, a post he held for three years. He was Ambassador to Germany from 1935 to 1938 and on his return to China was Chancellor of Szechuan University and later Vice-Chancellor of Central Political Institute. Ch'eng was a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, 1929-1935 and delegate to the United Nations General Assembly, 1949. He was Minister of Information, 1949-1950 and Minister of Education, 1950-1954. He was a delegate to UNESCO Conferences in 1945, 1946 and 1957.

6 The remaining six were: the psychologist and educationist, Ch'en Hsüeh-p'ing 陳雪屏 ; the publisher and member of the Kuomintang Central Reform Committee, Hu Chien-chung 胡健中; the former Vice-President of the Post-graduate School of Journalism, Tseng Hsü-pai 曾虛白 ; the Secretary-General of the Kuomintang Central Supervisory Committee and member of the Legislative Yüan, Ti Ying (Diffoutine Yin) 狄膺 ; the novelist, Ch'en Chi-ying 陳紀瀅 and the woman dramatist, Li Man-kui 李曼瑰 .

7 See Ch'en Chi-ying, 陳紀瀅 "Ching-tao wen-i tou-shih Chang Tao-fan hsien-sheng" 敬悼文藝鬥士張道藩先生 . (A Lament for a Literary Warrior, Mr. Chang Tao-fan) in WT, No. 97, July, 1968), p.8.

entry or a manuscript fee - should be awarded twice a year on May 4 and November 12, the latter date being the anniversary of the birth of Sun Yat-sen. Submissions were to be divided into fourteen different categories, ranging from poetry, fiction and drama to film scripts and radio plays. The essay (san wen 散文) was not included, an omission which caused surprise in some quarters since the essay enjoyed equal popularity with the short story.[8] The criteria by which the best entries were to be judged were also laid down, the three main factors being whether they were "positive" (chi-chi-hsing 積極性); whether the ideas expressed were "correct" (szu-hsiang cheng-ch'üeh 思想正確); and whether the handling of the language was of a sufficiently high standard.[9]

The idea of a cash award or a manuscript fee was very attractive to writers or would-be writers who were mostly holding down low-paid jobs and who were consequently finding it difficult to make ends meet. Moreover, it went some way towards solving the problem of finding publishers and distributors at a time when they were reluctant to risk money on unknown writers. Those who had been sufficiently

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[8] See WIS, p. 410.
This omission may be explained by the fact that the essay was frequently used as a tool for criticism in the past.

[9] See Hu Hsiao, op.cit., p.38.

lucky to find either usually discovered that returns from their labours were pitifully small.[10] There were, however, those who bridled at the idea of participating in a competition, and there were some who felt it smacked of charity.[11] No doubt some also harboured misgivings regarding the price that would ultimately be exacted of them for official munificence. Despite this, the response was overwhelming, and for six years until the Award Committee was forced to disband due to lack of funds,[12] the Committee sifted through thousands of manuscripts and was instrumental in launching quite a few people on a writing career.[13] This does not mean that all writers thus launched have been able subsequently to devote themselves full-time to their careers.

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10 See Yin Hsüeh-man, "Erl-shih nien lai wo kuo wen-i kung-tso chih hui-ku chi chin hou ch'uang-tsao ti mu-piao" 二十年來我國文藝工作之回顧及今後創造的目標 (Our Literary Work over Twenty Years in Retrospect, and Our Aims for Future Creativity), in WHFH Vol. 4, No.5, (May 1, 1971), p.21.

11 See Mu Chung-nan 穆中南, "Man t'an tzu-yu Chung-kuo shih nien lai ti wen-i" 漫談自由中國十年來的文藝 (Casual Remarks on the Literature of the Last Ten Years in Free China), in WT, No.7 (July 1960), pp.9-14.

12 The Award Committee had to be dissolved at the end of 1956 for financial reasons. It's journal Wen-i ch'uang-tso 文藝創作 (Literary Creation) had to cease publication for the same reason. See Hu Hsiao, op.cit., p.38.

13 Kuo I-tung 郭衣洞, for example, was encouraged to take up writing seriously as a result of having won an award from the Award Committee see Chapter Ten.

As one would expect, the themes of the entries in the first competition held by The Chinese Literature and Art Award Committee were strongly anti-Communist and anti-Russian - recent events on the mainland were too deeply imprinted on the minds of the competitors to allow for anything else. The Award Committee, therefore, during its first year of operation gave awards to some seventeen people for songs with such titles as Fan kung k'ang E ko 反共抗俄歌 (The Song of Anti-Communism and Anti-Russia) or Pao-wei wo-men T'ai-wan 保衛我們臺灣 (Protect our Taiwan), and for stories with titles like Shui sha ni ti Pa-pa 誰殺你的爸爸 (Who killed your Papa?) or Pa hsün-chang 疤勳章 (The Scarred Medal).[14]

It was important to counteract any impression that morale had sunk so low that there was no fighting spirit left. The Award Committee therefore selected from the material submitted simple short stories, poems, songs and one-act plays and had them mimeographed for distribution to Chinese newspapers abroad in order to help overseas Chinese to understand "the actual conditions of Free China's anti-Communist and anti-Russian

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14 The authors of the above-mentioned songs and stories were Hei Nü 黑女 ; Sun Ling 孫陵, Wen Hsin-yü 溫新榆 and Tuan Mu-fang 端木方 respectively, see Chang Tao-fan "I nien lai ti wen-i yün-tung" 一年來的文藝運動 (Literary Activities during the Past Year), in Chung-yang jih-pao, January 1, 1951.

revolutionary movement, as well as the direction in which China's new literature was developing."[15] The Award Committee also passed on to the various broadcasting stations serving Taiwan those stories, poems and plays in which the anti-Communist sentiment was most evident.

Many of the writers who had either made a name for themselves on the mainland or who were just on the point of embarking on a literary career when their world came crashing down around them were too "stunned"[16] to put pen to paper and consequently needed the stimulus of a body such as the Award Committee to start to write again. Apart from awarding prizes, the Committee helped writers by actually soliciting material for publication, and it even organized the first conference of writers and artists with a view to forming a writers' and artists' association. The conference brought together at least two hundred writers who were looking for moral support from fellow-writers, or, as official reports put it, had gathered to draw strength from each other;[17] to combat the prevailing mood of "anxiety and unease"[18]

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15 ibid.

16 Chung-hua min-kuo tang-tai wen-i tso-chia ming-lu 中華民國當代文藝作家名錄 (Directory of Contemporary Authors of the Republic of China), (Taipei, National Central Library, 1970), p.8. Hereafter cited as TCML.

17 See Chang Tao-fan, op.cit.

18 WINC, p.73.

and to counteract the effects the pessimism and "the flight from reality"[19] conveyed by the writing in the newspaper supplements were having on the general public.

The Formation of The China Association of Literature and Art.

The driving force behind the setting-up of The Chinese Literature and Art Award Committee was the indefatigable Chang Tao-fan who by now was a member of the Legislative Yuan and Chairman of the board of directors of the China Broadcasting Corporation. Together with four other members of the Award Committee, he enlisted the support of the educator and literary critic, Li Ch'en-tung 李辰冬,[20] the San Min Chu I literary theorist, Chao Yu-p'ei 趙友培,[21] and Chiang

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19 ibid.

20 Li Ch'en-tung, b. Honan, 1907. He graduated from Yenching University, Peking, after which he went to the University of Paris where he gained a doctorate. On his return to China he taught at various universities as well as at the Central Political College.
In Taiwan he has been professor at Taiwan Provincial Normal University and principal of the China Correspondence School for Literature and Art. He is known for his studies on Hung-lou meng 紅樓夢 (The Dream of the Red Chamber); San-kuo yen-i 三國演義 (The Romance of the Three Kingdoms); Shui-hu Chuan 水滸傳 (The Water margin), and Hsi-yu chi 西遊記 (Journey to the West).

21 Chao Yu-p'ei, b. Kiangsu, 1913. After graduating from University he worked in the cultural and educational fields for many years. He has also been engaged in the study of the Chinese language, and has written several books on creative writing and on San Min Chu I literary theory.

Ching-kuo 蔣經國,[22] who at the time was Director of the General Political Department of the Ministry of National Defense, in the formation of a writers' and artists' association which would include literary theorists, creative writers, and anyone whose occupation was related to the arts.

The inaugural meeting was to take place in the Chung Shan Hall in Taipei on May 4, 1950. The date is significant for it suggests that as much as those involved in setting-up the association represented that element which deplored the radical changes that took place in China as a result of the May Fourth Movement in 1919, such as the "usurpation" of literature by the Communists and the eventual alienation of the people

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[22] Chiang Ching-kuo b. Chekiang, 1909, is the eldest son of Chiang Kai-shek. At the age of sixteen he went with other Chinese youths to Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow. He graduated two years later and wanted to return to China, but was not permitted to do so, and was directed to various jobs in and around Moscow and in the Urals. Finally, after 12 years in Russia, he was permitted to return to China. From 1937 to 1941 he held a variety of posts in rural areas and gained a reputation for being authoritarian, but also a vigorous administrator.

From 1950 on he advanced in influence and importance in Taiwan with his father's backing. He held key positions in the Ministry of Defense and directed military intelligence and security agencies in Taiwan.

Chiang Ching-kuo became Premier in 1972, and became President of the Republic of China in 1978 three years after the death of his father.

from the Nationalists, they nevertheless conceded that the May Fourth Movement as such had been necessary and that it had started out in the right direction. The new literature which was to come out of "Free China", the organizers of this inaugural meeting seemed to be asserting, was to seek its inspiration in San Min Chu I and to inherit the mantle of that earlier Literary Revolution. In other words, out of the ashes of the May Fourth Movement of 1919 which took place on the mainland of China, but which had also had repercussions in Taiwan, there was to arise a new May Fourth Movement.[23]

The 150 participants in this inaugural meeting drew up a statement which described Taiwan's role on the world scene in the following words:

> Taiwan today is one of the stateliest, one of the strongest fortesses in the Western Pacific. Not only are the hopes of all Chinese people fastened on it, but it is the lighthouse which directs the whole of mankind in its search for freedom and happiness. We have the good fortune to be the guardians of this lighthouse and we must make it burn with an inextinguishable flame so that it lights up every dark corner on this earth. This is our bounden duty from which, in our pursuit of justice, we shall not waver. It is also our divine responsibility in the midst of our hard and bitter fight against Communism and Russia.[24]

Continuing in a similar vein, the statement went on to outline the aims and aspirations of this new body,

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[23] See Mu Chung-nan, "Chan-tou tsai chan-tou" 戰鬥再戰鬥 (Fight! And Fight Again!) in WT. No.1, (November, 1957), pp.4ff.

[24] WINC, p.73.

henceforth to be known as the Chung-kuo wen-i hsieh-hui 中國文藝協會 The China Association of Literature and Art.[25] The Association was "... to unify the members of the nation's literary and artistic circles; to study theories on literature and art; to be engaged in the task of literary and artistic creation; to initiate movements on literature and art; to develop literary and artistic enterprises; to realize the establishment of a San Min Chu I culture; to complete the task of opposing Communism, resisting Russia and national recovery, and to promote world peace."[26]

Nineteen committees were set up. Each committee was to deal with a particular genre as, for example, fiction, poetry, music, drama, the dance, painting, film-making etc. A committee was also formed to examine literature produced on the mainland in addition to that of foreign countries.[27]

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25 Translations of the Chung-kuo wen-i hsieh-hui vary. The China Yearbook calls it The Chinese Writers' and Artists' Association. T.A. Hsia (in Hsia. C.T., op.cit., p. 522) calls it the China Literary Association, whereas the National Central Library in TCML uses The China Association of Literature and Art, the translation preferred by the present writer.

26 WINC, p.74.

27 For the complete range of committees formed see Mu Chung-nan, "Erl-shih nien T'ai-wan tso-chia chi tso-p'in" 二十年來臺灣作家及作品 (Taiwan Writers and Their Works over the Last Twenty Years), in WT, No. 105, (March, 1969), p.6.

The China Association of Literature and Art lost no time putting various projects into operation. These were preceded, however, by a meeting with some 800 people, most of whom were concerned with cultural enterprises. This took place a little over a month after the formation of the new association.

Between the months of May and December, 1950, the Association made arrangements with broadcasting stations to hold seminars on literature on the air; and, in all, some hundred writers participated in twenty-four programmes. The Association also made arrangements with the Hsin sheng pao 新生報 (New Life) and the Chung-hua jih-pao 中華日報 (China Daily) for the printing of a supplement which was to include both literature and literary theory. As far as Hsin-sheng pao was concerned, however, the supplement was shortlived as it ran into difficulties and had to reduce its format.

During the summer months of the same year the China Association of Literature and Art arranged with the Taiwan Provincial Department of Education for literary workshops to be held for young people. More people registered for these than it was possible to offer instruction, so that out of the nine hundred applicants, only three hundred were chosen. It was an interesting group of young people for some came from Party and government agencies and the armed forces, whilst the rest were drawn from industry, trade and senior primary and senior middle schools. The systematic study of

literature which took place under this scheme over succeeding two week periods helped, according to Chang Tao-fan, "to raise their knowledge of literature, to advance their writing skill, and to strengthen their confidence to engage in the task of writing anti-Communist and anti-Russian literature.[28] And he continues, quite unabashedly, "One can say that fresh troops have been added to Free China's literature movement and that outstanding cadres are being held in reserve for the literature movement after we have regained the mainland."[29]

From November, 1950, on the China Association of Literature and Art widened its scope to include the general public. A meeting was held every Sunday evening, for example, at which the audience was taught all kinds of anti-Communist songs or was shown educational films or addressed by celebrities.[30] Although the association boasted of drawing crowds of from five hundred to two thousand people, it must be admitted that, in a city the size of Taipei, which at the end of 1949 had a population of 480,000, the response to this aspect of the Association's activities could not be regarded as massive.

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28 Chang Tao-fan, "I nien lai ti wen-i yün-tung," in Chung-yang jih-pao, January 1, 1951.

29 ibid.

30 ibid.

These activities of the Association must, of course, be seen against the backdrop of the sense of crisis which had gripped the Kuomintang since its troops had been roundly beaten at Hainan Island and had been forced to abandon the Chusan Archipelago. Further, rumours were rife that preparations for a massive drive across the Straits of Formosa by the Communists were in progress. The big question in the minds of the leaders of the Kuomintang was how the Taiwanese would react if the Communists were to succeed. Could they count on the support of the Taiwanese or not? Faced with uncertainty over the answer to that question, it suddenly became all-important to woo the indigenous population, in military terms, to secure their rear. Rallies were organized, fireworks displays were held, and Ch'en Yi was put in front of a firing-squad to pay for his abuse of the Taiwanese in 1946 and 1947. At this juncture fate proved kind to the Kuomintang. The Korean War broke out and United States policy towards Chiang Kai-shek and Taiwan was reversed.[31]

Whatever the cause, the China Association of Literature and Art continued to add new members. From a membership of some 150, the Association so grew that by 1966 it had well over 1,500 members, and branches

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[31] Kerr, Formosa Betrayed, pp.385ff.

had been established in the central, eastern and southern parts of Taiwan as well as on the Pescadores. Members originated from every province on the mainland and were from all walks of life, although predominantly from the cultural and educational fields and the news media. The Association brought into being such publications as Mei chou wen-i 每週文藝 (The Week's Literature and Art), Wen-i chou-k'an 文藝週刊 (Literature and Art Weekly), Wen-i p'ing-lun chou-k'an 文藝評論週刊 (Comments on Literature and Art Weekly), Pi hui 筆滙 (Jottings) and Wen-i sheng-huo 文藝生活 (The Literary Life).[32]

Surveying the beginnings of the China Association of Literature and Art in 1951, Chang Tao-fan felt he had cause to be satisfied with the many and varied contributions made by the Association during its first year of operation, and he predicted not only a flourishing of the arts under its influence, but also a greater understanding on the part of the public of their role in the fight against Communism.[33]

The China Association of Literature and Art and Mainland China.

As there was no question of putting down roots in

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[32] See Mu Chung-nan "Erl-shih nien T'ai-Wan tso-chia chi tso-p'in", p.7.

[33] See Chang Tao-fan, op.cit.

Taiwan - their return to the mainland, so mainlanders were led to believe, being only a matter of time - it was one of the functions of the China Association of Literature and Art to keep a finger on the pulse of mainland China and to draw attention to prevailing conditions and the plight of fellow-intellectuals and fellow-artists there. Thus, when the Rectification Movement (cheng-feng yün-tung 整風運動)[34] was in full spate on the mainland, the China Association of Literature and Art on August 4, 1952, called attention to what was happening in an article entitled: "Chung-kuo wen-i-chieh wei chieh-fa Kung-fei wen-i cheng-feng yün-tung pao-hsing yin-mou ping chih-yüan ta-lu shang pei p'o-hai ti wen-i-chieh jen-shih hsüan-yen." 中國文藝界為揭發共匪文藝整風運動暴行陰謀並支援大陸上被迫害的文藝界人士宣言

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34 In 1951 a campaign against economic waste known as the Three-Anti Campaign was initiated in China. This merged with the Five-Anti Campaign designed to eradicate such "bourgeois" evils as bribery, tax evasion, fraud, and the like. Both campaigns involved the intellectuals who were sent in their thousands to the countryside where they were organized into work teams under the direction of trained cadres in order to be given "a practical initiation into the social structure and class alignment of the areas". Running parallel with the Three Anti and Five Anti Campaigns was a literary rectification movement designed to rectify unorthodox tendencies among writers. It started off with a mass meeting for "the mobilization of literary and art circles in thought reform and study" in Peking in November 1951.
Pressures on intellectuals were so great that many

(A declaration made by Chinese literature and art circles in order to expose the cruel plot of the Communist bandits' Literary Rectification Movement and to support the people in literary and artistic circles on the mainland who are being oppressed.)[35]

The introductory paragraph of this 1,500 character-long article drew attention to the Thought Reform Movement launched by the Communists in the previous year and its use as a means of controlling writers and intellectuals. Thought Reform, the article continued, had now been expanded to become the Movement for the Rectification of Literature and Art. The consequence of this was that countless numbers of writers and artists were being made to review their past performance and, on being found wanting, were made to confess their errors and to study Mao Tse-tung's theories on the direction of literature and art. Some were made to join the army as punishment; others were sent to concentration camps. Some simply vanished, and others were openly executed. In Shanghai alone, the article went on, more than 3,000 literary and art workers had met with "accidental deaths".

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were driven to suicide. See Chen, Theodore, Thought Reform of the Chinese Intellectuals, (Hong Kong University Press, 1960), pp.21, 30, 34-35, 63 and Hsia, C.T., op.cit., p.328.

35 WINC, pp.153, 550-553.

The news of the atrocities committed by the Communists had so incensed writers and artists in Free China that they felt compelled to draw the attention of the rest of the free world to the state of affairs pertaining on the mainland of China and to the plight of those engaged in literary and art work.

The article then addressed itself directly to what it called "loyal and true friends in literary and artistic circles on the mainland." The creation of literature and art for the worker, peasant and soldier, the article said, was a trap set by Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung for the enslavement of the writer and artist. In fact, writers and artists were living under a new system of slavery and a new form of feudalism. There was not a moment, therefore, when the writer and artist in Free China did not feel pity and concern for them. The time had now come, however, to express this sympathy in more concrete terms by adopting a more militant stance and by teaching the oppressors a sharp lesson. The article then called on mainland writers and artists to unite together, to resist the Communists, to fight for the freedom of the people and to welcome the counterattack from Free China. Those who could manage to escape from behind the Iron Curtain would be greeted with open arms, and it was hoped that they would subsequently join the ranks of writers and artists resident in Taiwan in counterattack and in national restoration.

Those writers and artists who, though not having been to Yenan, had surrendered to the Communists and let themselves be used in promoting class literature should know that they were now no longer of any use to the Communists and were consequently being branded as reactionaries. If they were aware of this fact and had fallen silent as a form of protest, they should know that silence was not enough. They should activate themselves, take up their pens, and, facing freedom and Taiwan, should speak up and lead the people in the fight against the Communists. The government in Free China, the article went on, had stated quite clearly that it would not hold the past against those who "raised a righteous revolt." Indeed, it would guarantee their livelihood, their freedom and their safety.

The article then turned its attention to compatriots in literary and artistic circles in foreign lands. It called on them to join hands with the writers and artists in Free China in their effort to make known to the rest of the world the fate of fellow-writers and artists in mainland China. In addition, it entreated them to give whatever support they could.

The subsequent paragraph of the article was an appeal to all those in the rest of the world who had a love of "free" literature and art. It explained how the Movement for the Rectification of Literature and Art was the beginning of the destruction not just of Chinese culture, but of the cultures of all countries. It was

also the prelude to the enslavement of all mankind. For the sake of democracy, freedom and the future of the cultures of all nations of the world, therefore, it was imperative that the free world join with Free China, that it stretched out a helping hand to all those who were being submerged by Communism and that it made a stand against the "red peril".

The final paragraph was addressed to all literary and art workers in Free China. They were asked to heed Chiang Kai-shek's call for cultural reform and for mobilization. They were commanded to take literature and art to the armed forces, to the villages, to the factories, and further still, to behind the enemy lines so that together with those who loved the arts behind the Iron Curtain they could fight for victory over Communism.

"Let us use all the weapons we have at our command," the article ended, "and, joining together under the banner of San Min Chu I, eliminate our common enemy - the bandit, Mao Tse-tung."[36]

Simultaneously with the publication of this article, the Association broadcast to the mainland over the Voice of Free China denouncing the Communists and their treatment of writers and intellectuals. At least twenty symposia were held in order to publicize the Literary Rectification Movement, and between August 5 and August 12,

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[36] ibid., p.553.

the Association arranged for writers in Taiwan to broadcast appeals over the various networks to their counterparts on the mainland, urging them to resist.[37] Thus Li Ch'en-tung, for example, addressed himself to Chu Kuang-ch'ien 朱光潛, the aesthetician and critic;[38] Wang Lan 王藍, the novelist and painter,[39] made a personal appeal to the playwright and

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37 ibid., p.153.

38 Chu Kuang-ch'ien was born in Anhwei in 1898. He was educated at Wuchang Higher Normal School and Hong Kong University. He went to Europe to study literature and philosophy. He gained an MA degree at Edinburgh University and a PhD from Strasburgh University. Upon his return to China he taught at both Tsinghua and Peking universities. In 1937 Chu became editor of Wen-hsüeh tsa-chih 文學雜誌 (Literary Magazine) which was devoted to fostering serious literature and criticism. He wrote several books on the appreciation of poetry and art which were attacked by the Communists because of their indifference to Marxist literary values.

39 Wang Lan was born in Tientsin in 1922. He was educated at Tsinghua Fine Arts College and National Yunnan University. He was chief reporter and special correspondent for Peace Daily News, 1944-1946. In 1946 he became a member of the City Council of Tientsin. In Taiwan he became a delegate to the National Assembly; Chairman of Chinese Watercolourists Association; Executive Director of the China Chapter, International P.E.N. and one of the directors of the China Association of Literature and Art. In 1961 he headed a cultural mission to the Philippines and in 1962 he was a delegate to the Asian Writers' Conference, International P.E.N. to the Asian Writers' Conference, International P.E.N. From 1971 to 1972 he was Visiting-Professor in the Department of East Asian Languages, University of Hawaii. His publications include the novels, Lan yü hei 藍與黑 (The Blue and the Black), 1958, which became a best-seller and has been translated into Korean and German; Ch'ang yeh 長夜 (Long Night), 1959, and such works on literary theory as Hsieh shenme - tsenme hsieh 寫什麼：怎麼寫 (What shall we write about - how shall we write?), 1966.
Wang Lan is, however, equally well-known for his water-colours which have been exhibited in the United States,

drama critic, Wu Tsu-kuang 吳祖光,[40] and Ho Jung 何容, the senior editor of the Kuo-yü jih-pao's 國語日報 (The National Language Daily) supplement broadcast a message to the well-known novelist Lao She 老舍.[41] Whether the writers so addressed were in a position to listen to these radio messages was another matter altogether, but the Association clearly felt it had discharged its duty.

Europe, and other countries and which are in the permanent collections of the National Historical Museum in Taipei.

40 Wu Tsu-kuang was born in Kiangsu in 1917. He received his education at Université Franco-Chinoise, Peking. During the war he worked in the National Academy of Dramatic Arts in Chungking. He wrote several plays of which the most popular was Cheng-ch'i ko 正氣歌 (Song of Righteousness). After the war Wu became editor of the monthly magazine Ch'ing-ming 清明 (Clear and Bright) and the literary supplement of Hsin min pao 新民報 (Renewed People) in Shanghai. In 1948 he was involved in creative writing, journalism, drama and films. He went to Hong Kong for a period, but returned to the mainland and went north to Peking, only to become disillusioned with the situation there. During the anti-rightist movement of 1957, Wu was sent to a labour camp and was not released until 1961. He fell out of circulation again in 1966 at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution and was only heard of again in 1971. He was said to be living in Peking.

41 Lao She was born in Peking 1898. Lao She, whose real name was Shu Ch'ing-ch'un 舒慶春, was of Manchu descent. He studied for some years at Yenching University and was instructor in Chinese at Nankai Middle School before sailing for England in 1924. He had an appointment as Lecturer in Chinese at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London from 1924 to 1929. In London he became acquainted with the scholar and short story writer, Hsü Ti-shan 許地山 who recommended that Lao She's first novel, Lao Chang ti che-hsüeh 老張的哲學 (The Philosophy of Lao Chang) be published in Hsiao-shuo yüeh-pao 小說月報 (The Short Story). On his return to China Lao She took up a teaching appointment at Chee loo University. In 1934 he joined

The Chinese Youth Writers' Association.

If Chiang Kai-shek was to succeed in building up a San Min Chu I society in Taiwan and make it serve as a springboard for counter-attack and recovery of the mainland, he had to try to win over the youth of the island. Consequently, on October 13, 1952, the Chung-kuo ch'ing nien fan kung chiu-kuo t'uan 中國青年反共救國團 The Chinese Youth Anti-Communist National Salvation Corps, invariably known by its shortened title, the China Youth Corps, was formed under the directorship of Chiang Ching-kuo. Officially, it was "dedicated to helping young people in their intellectual and physical development and to mobilizing and training them for national reconstruction,"[42] but unofficially it became, according to Dr K.C. Wu

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the staff at Tsingtao University, but resigned in 1936 in order to devote himself full-time to his writing. During the war he was active in organizing and directing writers for the war effort. Lao She was in the United States when the Communists came to power, but he elected to return to China and in 1954 he was made Vice-chairman of the Writers' Union. In 1966 during the Cultural Revolution Lao She was humiliated and beaten by the Red Guards. His house was looted and his manuscripts were torn to shreds. He committed suicide. Lao She was a prolific writer, but his Lo-t'o Hsiang-tzu 駱駝祥子 (Camel Hsiang-tzu) is considered to be one of the finest modern Chinese novels. For an in-depth study of Lao She and his works, see Vohra, Ranbir, op.cit.

42 China Yearbook, 1969-70, p.257.

(Wu Kuo-chen 吳國楨), governor of Taiwan 1950-52,[43] an organ for thought control.[44] Certainly, its formation caused misgivings among educators because of the amount of time its members were expected to spend on Youth Corps activities and because of a certain amount of pressure on school principals to become its officers and on students to become members.[45]

One of the off-shoots of the Youth Corps was the Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien hsieh-tso hsieh-hui 中國青年寫作協會 Chinese Youth Writers' Association which was formed in Taipei on August 2, 1953, in order to bring together those young people who were interested in

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[43] Wu Kuo-chen, born in Hupeh in 1903, was a classmate of Chou En-lai at Nankai Middle School, Tientsin. He subsequently studied at Tsinghua University, Grinnell College, Iowa, and Princeton where he received his PhD in 1926. Wu held various government posts and served also as Mayor of Hankow, 1932-1938; Mayor of Chungking, 1939-1941, and Mayor of Shanghai, 1946-1948. A liberal, he became increasingly concerned about press freedom, civil rights and the activities of the secret police. Wu resigned the governorship in 1953 and went to the United States. From Evanston, Illinois, he sent letters to Chiang Kai-shek and the National Assembly, making the charge that Taiwan was becoming a police state.

[44] See Kerr, Formosa Betrayed, p.482.

[45] Membership in the China Youth Corps is compulsory for senior middle and college students. Its function is "to mobilize and train young people for the move back to the mainland", Area Handbook for the Republic of China, (Washington, 1969), p.119. See also biography of Chiang Ching-kuo in BDRC, Vol. 1., p.311.

"good" [46] literature and who were conscious of their responsibility to society in the circumstances prevailing at the time. The aims of the Association were outlined in its charter. They were: to unite young writers; to foster writing and an interest in writing in young people; to elevate the standard of writing; to establish a literary theory based on San Min Chu I, and to invigorate propaganda work directed against Communism and designed to speed the recovery of the mainland. The immediate responsibility of the Association to its members lay in the fostering of talent; in the organization of literary activities; in the publishing of journals which would help to set a standard, and in assisting young people to have their material published.

From a modest membership of 256 young writers, the Chinese Youth Writers' Association had grown by 1964 to a membership of nearly 4,000 and had affiliated clubs in schools and universities. In the course of time it also came to be responsible for at least thirteen journals, one of the first and most well-known being Yu shih wen-i 幼獅文藝 (Young Lions' Literature), the first issue of which was published on March 29, 1954, to coincide with Youth Day.[47]

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[46] TCML, p.79.

[47] See Preface by Ya Hsien 痘弦 to Yu shih wen-i erl-shih chou nien mu-lu suo-yin 幼獅文藝二十週年目錄索引 (Index to Contents of Young Lions' Publications over Twenty Years) Taipei, Yu shih wen-i she, 1974.

The Association, in addition, became responsible for the publication of over one hundred collections of novels, essays, poems, music and drama, including Western ideas on drama. It held lectures on literary theory; organized discussions, symposia and seminars on art, and was in the forefront of every literary movement proposed to respond to specific situations.

Whenever there was any criticism of the Association because of its strong emphasis on "propaganda work against Communism", this was generally countered by the remark that literature could not divorce itself from reality, and since "the reality" of the time was one in which they had to oppose Communism and resist Russia, literature was bound to reflect this "fighting quality".[48]

"Fighting quality", however, could not be fostered by some of the literature that was on the market. For all the high ideals on the part of many in the publishing world, publishing was essentially a business which had to be made to pay its way. There were two types of books which could be counted on to guarantee a return to both publisher and bookseller, and they were school text books and salacious literature. Instead of aiming at the

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[48] See Ch'ün Fen 羣奮, "Wo-men ti hui-ku yü ch'ien-chan" 我們的回顧與前瞻 (Looking Back-Looking foreward), in YSWI, Vol.1, No. 6, (August, 1954), p.2.

elevation of the literary tastes of readers, the majority of which were young people, numbers of writers in Taiwan kept their eyes on financial returns. For them tangible rewards were of greater importance than unverified effects of the contents of their works on their young readership. But this tendency to produce a marketable product, and the preference on the part of those who did read for easy reading material, would not be checked as long as young people themselves were ready to settle for the second-rate. And there was another factor which was of great importance. Not only were young people more blasé than their counterparts of thirty years earlier, but their whole attitude towards literature and art seemed to have changed radically from that of the young person who had experienced the excitement of the May Fourth Movement. At that time, wrote Mu Chung-nan 穆中南,[49] editor of Wen t'an 文壇 (Literature Forum), reflecting in 1953 on the difference, young students were more ashamed to admit not having read a particular work or new publication than of being seen in dilapidated clothes, whereas now young people resented

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[49] Mu Chung-nan was born in Shantung, 1911 and graduated from Peking University. He has been university secretary; lecturer, journalist and editor. Mu is a standing member of the board of directors of the China Association of Literature and Art, and he is the director of the Wen t'an Publishing Co. and co-editor with Ch'en Chi-ying and Wang Lan of the journal Wen t'an. He has written both novels and short stories under the pen name Mu Mu 穆穆.

spending N.T.$4-5 on a book, but thought nothing of spending that amount of money on the picture-theatres or in snack-bars. They were less ashamed of being found ignorant of current literature than of lacking the right kind of gear - the ubiquitous jeans.[50] But, young people were not going to take literature seriously, maintained Mu Chung-nan, unless society took literature seriously. If a proper appreciation of literature was to be fostered, and standards were to be raised, then there had to be co-operation between publisher, teacher and student. Mu did acknowledge, of course, that the four previous years had not been conducive to a flourishing of the arts, and that consequently there had been a dearth of good literature. However, the China Association of Literature and Art and the recently formed Chinese Youth Writers' Association, he said, were stimulating the growth of literature and the "unearthing"[51] of new talent, and he had therefore great hopes for the future.

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50 See Mu Chung-nan, "Wen-i-chieh ho ch'u-pan-chieh" 文藝界和出版界 (Literary Circles and the Publishing World), in WT, Vol.2, No.3, (December, 1953), p.1.

51 ibid., p.2.

Chiang Kai-shek and his Two Supplementary Chapters to the Principle of the People's Livelihood concerning Education and Recreation.

As on the mainland where Communist literary theories were thrashed out among writers long before any official pronouncement was made on literature,[52] so too in Taiwan. It has to be admitted however, that when Chiang Kai-shek finally defined the kind of literature he would like to see produced, his statements were nowhere as clear or definitive as the pronouncements made by Mao Tse-tung at the Yenan Forum in 1942. Nor were they as binding as Mao's came to be.

As a young man Chiang Kai-shek had been impressed by the patriotic and nationalistic aspects of the May Fourth Movement, but he had been severely critical of the new culture movement, which included the vernacular movement, because he felt it "only imitated the superficial aspects of Western theories without paying proper attention to the needs of China."[53] Although he had read some modern literature and was acquainted with the

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52 See Hsia, C.T., op.cit., p.312.

53 Chow Tse-tsung, The May Fourth Movement. Intellectual Revolution in Modern China, (Stanford University Press, paperback edition, 1967), p.344.

contents of New Youth[54] and New Tide,[55] his personal preferences lay in the Classics, and his personal philosophy was strongly neo-Confucian.

The Kuomintang itself was deeply divided in its attitude towards the May Fourth Movement. The progressives and the liberals gave the movement enthusiastic support, whereas the conservative, worried about its iconoclastic tendencies, saw it as a movement that was likely to be detrimental to national self-confidence. The more the Communists appropriated the May Fourth Movement, the more dominant became the opinion of the conservative wing. By the thirties the movement had become anathema to the Kuomintang, so much so that any public mention of it was frowned upon by the government.[56]

The loss of the mainland in 1949 and subequent soul-searching forced both Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang to review their attitudes to literature and art. They had to admit that the Communists had won the

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54 New Youth (Hsin ch'ing-nien 新青年) was a monthly periodical founded by Ch'en Tu-hsiu 陳獨秀 in 1915. Its chief aim was to arouse China's youth and make it question the validity of the Chinese tradition, its social mores and philosophical base. The periodical consequently played an extraordinary part in the May Fourth Movement.

55 New Tide (Hsin-ch'ao 新潮) was a magazine put out by the students of Peking University in 1918. Like New Youth it attacked old literature, old ethics, old human relations and Confucianism.

56 See Chow Tse-tsung, op.cit., pp.342-346.

"psychological offensive"[57] largely because the Nationalist propaganda "lacked initiative"[58] and was not "militant"[59] enough. They had to admit that they had depended too much on military force and been largely indifferent to the subtle power which literature and art could exercise on the minds of men. They had to remind themselves of the success the Communists had had in both the conscious and unconscious indoctrination of the readers of literature composed by Communists and left-wing writers and of how puny their own efforts had been in this respect. If the Communists could be successful in establishing a society according to the principles of Marx largely through capturing the imagination of the young, then the same process could also be put into effect in Taiwan with San Min Chu I as the principle philosophy. The Kuomintang had, of course, tried to do this on the mainland, but well-organized opposition from its enemies had resulted in only patchy progress. In Taiwan there was no opposition to speak of.[60]

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57 Tung, William L., The Political Institutions of Modern China, (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 2nd edit., 2nd printing, 1968), p.216.

58 ibid.

59 ibid.

60 See Chen, Lung-chu and Lasswell, Harold, D., Formosa, China and the United Nations. Formosa in the World Community, (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1967), pp.287-288.

A glance at the literary offerings available at the time of Chiang's publication revealed some undistinguished anti-Communist and patriotic literature which was fast gaining the name pa-ku wen-i 八股文藝 (eight-legged literature)[61] and cheap, though popular love stories and adventure shows. As Chiang Kai-shek saw it, a good dose of idealism and purpose had to be injected into both writer and reader. His thoughts on the subject form a small portion of Min-sheng chu-i yü le liang p'ien pu-shu 民生主義育樂兩篇補述 (Two Supplementary Chapters to the Principle of the People's Livelihood[62] concerning

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61 See Kao Yang 高陽 "Yu chan-tou wen-i t'an hsiao-shuo ti ch'eng-fen" 由戰鬥文藝談小說的成份 (On Elements of the Novel according to Fighting Literature), in YSWI Vol. 14, No.5, (May, 1961), p.10.

The expression "eight-legged literature" is used both on the mainland and in Taiwan to denote the kind of writing in which the characters are stereotyped, the language is cliche-ridden, and plots are written according to a formula.

Originally "pa-ku" or "pa-ku wen" was the eight-paragraphed essay candidates sitting the civil service examination (abolished 1905)were required to compose. It demanded a formal and rigid style of writing in which rhyme, diction, calligraphy and poetical expression were of equal importance. It demanded great literary skills, "but no profound knowledge", Hsü, op.cit., p.103.

62 Min-sheng chu-i, the Principle of the People's Livelihood is the third part of Sun Yat-sen's political and social philosophy, San Min Chu I 三民主義 The Three Principles of the People. San Min Chu I consists of The Principle of Nationalism, The Principle of Democracy, and The Principle of the People's Livelihood. The latter denotes the livelihood of the people; the existence of society; the welfare of the nation, and the life of the masses. It implied equalization of landownership and the regulation of capital. There was some question as to whether

Education and Recreation).[63]

The Two Supplementary Chapters, a slender volume of some 83 pages, which was published by the newly established Central Suppliers of Cultural Products in November, 1953,[64] makes an analysis of the problems that accompany the change from an agricultural society to an industrial one. It explains what Sun Yat-sen had in mind when he discussed with Chiang Kai-shek such subjects as "national fecundity, social welfare, education, health and happiness."[65] In the light of

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socialism was a phase of Min -sheng chu-i or Min-sheng chu-i was a phase of socialism. However, any suggestion that there is any similarity between Min-sheng chu-i and Communism has since been suppressed. As espoused in Taiwan, it is the ultimate goal towards which society should strive. For further details see Gangulee, N, The Teachings of Sun Yat-sen. Selections from His Writings, London, The Sylvan Press, 1945.

63 Durham, S.F. Chen who has translated this publication into English has given it the title: Chapters on National Fecundity, Social Welfare, Education and Health and Happiness by Chiang Kai-shek as supplements to Lectures on the Principle of People's Livelihood. See Sun Yat-sen, The Three Principles of the People. San Min Chu I (Taipei, China Publishing Co., undated), p.213.

64 The Central Suppliers of Cultural Products (Chung-yang wen-wu kung-ying she 中央文物供應社) was established by the Central Committee of the Kuomintang at the suggestion of Chang Ch'i-yün. The main purpose of the Central Suppliers of Cultural Products was to publish ideological and anti-Communist works; writings by Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek, and compilations of collections of writings on both Chinese and Western cultures. Its establishment was hailed as a mark of recognition by the government for literary work. See Mu Chung-nan,"Wen-i-chieh ho ch'u-pan-chieh" 文藝界和出版界 (Literary Circles and Publishing Circles), in WT, Vol.2, No.3, (December, 1953), p.1.

65 Chen, Durham, S.F. in Sun Yat-sen, op.cit., pp.223-224.

Sun's lectures on The Principle of the People's Livelihood, his private discussions with Chiang, and Chiang's own personal observations, Chiang Kai-shek makes certain proposals for the future well-being of the nation when control over the mainland has been restored to the Kuomintang. But in as much as Taiwan was to be the working-model for reconstruction on the mainland, his ideas needed to be put into effect there and then.

As stated earlier, the chapter on literature and art occupies only a very small portion of the text, but in view of the fact that it was referred to again and again by writers, critics and literary theorists over the years, as well as by Chiang Kai-shek himself, it is pertinent to quote that section in full:

III. Mental Health and Happiness.

1. Literary and Military Arts:

Of all forms of enjoyment the highest and purest is to be found in the arts. The six arts of ceremonial, music, archery, charioteering, calligraphy and mathematics which formed the subject matter of education in ancient China, as mentioned in a previous section, were partly literary and partly military in nature. Though the subjects to be taught under the Min Sheng system of education will be many and varied, its curriculum and methods of instruction can be drawn up only if we proceed on the assumption that our aim is to train students to be as much accomplished in military matters as in literary pursuits, equally dexterous with mental and manual work, well balanced in physical and mental development, and good in intellectual and moral attainments in equal measure.

Leaving aside for the moment the educational aspects of the problem which have been touched upon in another section, we shall confine our present discussion to the literary and artistic policy to be adopted in the Min Sheng type of society with particular reference to the influence which literature and art are likely to exert on the citizen's mental health and happiness.

2. Literature and Art in a Changing Social Order:

Historically, the guiding principles of Chinese politics and society can be traced back to rules of propriety, and those of Chinese literature and music to poetry. Our literature, which arose out of poetry, is an art for the conveyance of thoughts and feelings. Being a means for the conveyance of thoughts and feelings, it must be rich in content; being an art, it must be beautiful in form. Let us, on the basis of these simple ideas, try to indicate the problems of present-day literature.

China being a vast country with a long history, people in the different regions, of different religious faiths, and belonging to different social strata have each their peculiar contributions to literature. As the Chinese are peace-loving and believe in loyalty and truthfulness, all literary forms - be they stories, legends, lyrics, ballads or opera - are characterized by the simplicity of subject matter and genuineness of the writer's feelings and emotions. But in the old agricultural society, the privileged class of scholar-gentry who had a monopoly of the literary stage, often took so much delight in their ornate styles and insisted on the preservation of stereotyped forms so strongly, that there was no chance for the emergence of a popular literature. Such was the problem posed by the old social order. On the other hand, the problem posed by life in industrial and commercial cities is of a different nature. It is one of the commercialization of literature. As life in industrial and commercial centres depends on income and as the literary writer's income is derived largely from the sale of his books, a writer cannot make a decent living if there is no demand for his works. In order to create a demand for his works, the publisher has to cater to the popular taste. This practice makes it impossible for literature to be an expression of a writer's genuine feelings or a pure work of beauty free from all influence of commercial considerations.

But the masses of people are not all addicted to literature of the lowest taste. Seeing the demand for more serious reading matter, the Chinese Communists take advantage of the situation to launch a literary and artistic movement and, through the instrumentality of literature and drama, try to inculcate in the minds of the citizen their conception of the class struggle and to work up his emotions towards that end. Thus the general public become victims of either yellowbacks (pornographic literature) or Red propaganda. In our capacity as champions of the National Revolution, we should be fully ashamed of ourselves for having permitted, after sixty years of struggle for national reconstruction, these two kinds of poisonous stuff to undermine the mental health of our citizens.

Much progress has been made in this respect in Taiwan, where literary works imbued with intense national feelings are on the ascendancy, dramatic performances in the Taiwan dialect with an anti-Communist and anti-Russian slant have been exerting a deep impression on the audience, and excellent motion-pictures with an anti-Communist and anti-Russian motif are being produced and shown. But we are by no means satisfied with the results so far achieved, because:

a. There are still too few literary and artistic works of rare beauty and truth, and most of the citizen's leisure time continues to be spent on literary and artistic works of the commercialized variety.

b. Works which convey the essential spirit of the Chinese nation and culture are only beginning to appear and are not sufficiently well developed. In view of the systematic and planned destruction of Chinese culture by the Soviet Russian Imperialists and Chinese Communists, we feel so much the more keenly the scarcity of literary and artistic works that express the essential spirit of the Chinese nation and culture and impart it to the reader to be forever treasured and cherished in his heart.

We should not only direct our efforts along the lines thus indicated after our recovery of the mainland, but also make the necessary preparations for them right now on the eve of our counterattack.[66]

In as much as Chiang's remarks on motion-pictures and the radio have a bearing on literature and drama, it is appropriate to quote that section as well.

5. Motion Pictures and Radio Broadcasts:

The motion picture and the radio are two media for the transmission of ideas and information to the broad masses of people by means of modern techniques with the help of literature, music and art. Both media have been taken seriously all along by the Kuomintang and the Government. In spite of financial difficulties since the removal of the seat of government to Taiwan, we have continued to give the utmost support to motion pictures and radio broadcasts for their educational value. We are confident that there will be still brighter prospects for both of these enterprises after our eventual recovery of the mainland.

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[66] ibid., pp.300-303. (In the original, pp.63-65).

To have fairly good motion pictures, it is necessary first of all to have good literature and good drama. But the situation in China is rather different. With the introduction of foreign movies, they have exerted a deplorable effect on Chinese literature and drama. As the foreign movies are simply commercialized amusements, the result is that under the all-powerful influence of commercialization our literature and drama have developed along unhealthy lines.

With the concentration of population in cities and the increasing popularization of city life today, the radio has become an efficacious means for the consolidation of public opinion. If receiving-sets can be made available to all cities, towns and villages, there can be saved much valuable time which the citizen ordinarily spends on cheap novels and going to theaters. With the help of the radio, he will be able to find diversion and refresh his mind at any leisure moment after his daily work. But if the radio should become commercialized, the business news and advertisements which it transmits would weaken the consumer's ability to choose the right articles of consumption and strengthen the power and influence of monopoly capital. If the radio should be operated merely for profit, it would cater only to the lowest tastes and broadcast only decadent music and songs and the net result would be still greater harm to the mental health of the citizen.

Therefore, in our work for the revolution and national reconstruction all educational programs carried out through motion pictures and radio broadcasts must be undertaken by the state. Special attention should be paid to the subject matter, contents and qualities of the movies and broadcasts in order that the mental health and happiness of the citizens may be preserved and improved.[67]

and finally, to sum up:

In endeavouring to build up the Min Sheng type of society, we must pay equal attention to the literary and military arts. Living as we do in a world dominated by Machtpolitik, we Chinese must qualify ourselves as citizens of an independent and free modern state by developing our bodies and minds in perfect balance, making equal use of our hands and brains, training ourselves to be as proficient in military as in literary

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[67] Ibid., pp.309-311. (In the original, pp.69-70).

matters, and cultivating our intellectual and moral qualities in equal measure. Only thus can we adapt ourselves to the changes of social life and be ready to shoulder the heavy responsibility of building up the Min Sheng type of society....[68]

As Chiang Kai-shek's first major statement on literature and art, it is singularly unspecific, and on that score compares unfavourably with Mao Tse-tung's "Talks" at the Yenan literary conference in 1942. It should be said, however, that it is the very lack of well-defined "dos" and "don'ts" which places the writer in Taiwan in a more flexible position than his counterpart on the mainland; he is not restricted by an uncompromisingly rigid literary policy. Persuasion rather than coercion is the key note.

Whatever the nature of the directives of the Two Supplementary Chapters, it did give literary theorists and commentators food for thought; for, having suggested broad outlines, it was left to the theorists to supply the details.[69] From the Kuomintang's point of view, however, Chiang's work was seen as a major statement of policy, and his references to literature and art were taken as an indication of "a literary policy for a Min-sheng society."[70]

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68 ibid., pp.311-312. (In the original, p.71).

69 See, for example, Wang Chi-ts'ung, "Tsung-t'ung ti chung-yao wen-i yen-lun" 總統的重要文藝言論 (Important Speeches on Literature and Art by the President) in YSWl, Vol.5, No.2, (October, 1956), pp.2-4.

70 WIS, p.977.

Chiang Kai-shek made further pronouncements on literature and art during subsequent years which helped to augment these initial statements.[71]

Reactions to Chiang Kai-shek's Two Supplementary Chapters.

The Two Supplementary Chapters had barely come off the press before the China Association of Literature and Art commended it to its members in the association's journal the Hui-yüan lien-i yüeh k'an 會員聯誼月刊 (Members' Fraternity Monthly) and urged them to peruse it "with deference".[72] It is debatable whether writers "throughout the nation"[73] proceeded "to examine it with fervour"[74] as the Chung-kuo wen-i nien-chien, 1966 would have us believe, nevertheless the study of Chiang's Two Supplementary Chapters resulted in the holding of at least twenty-four symposia and in the issuing of a document entitled Chung-kuo wen-i hsieh-hui ch'uan t'i hui-yüan yen-tu Tsung-t'ung shou-chu Min-sheng Chu-i yü lo liang p'ien pu-shu ti hsin-te yü chien-i 中國文藝協會全體會員研讀總統手著民生主義育樂兩篇補述的心得與建議

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71 See Chang Chao-ch'i 張肇祺, "Chiang Tsung-t'ung ti wen-i kuan" 蔣總統的文藝觀 (President Chiang's Views on Literature and Art), in Chung-kuo tsa-chih 中國雜誌 (China), (Taipei, Chung-yang wen u kung-ying she, 1976), pp.75-79.

72 WINC, p.125.

73 ibid., p.299.

74 ibid.

(Insights gained and recommendations made at the examination of the President's Two Supplementary Chapters to the Principle of the People's Livelihood concerning Education and Recreation by the whole membership of the China Association of Literature and Art.)[75]

What had particularly caught the Association's attention was the reference to literature of a questionable nature (yellow) or with a Communist bias (red) and the need to eliminate the "poisons" produced by such literature. Secondly, it was impressed with the need, not to wait until after the recovery of the mainland, but to act promptly "on the eve of counterattack." It also took seriously the suggestion that the remedy lay in the writers' own hands; in their creating works of "truth and beauty" and of an artistically high standard rather than in seeing the process of writing as a commercial venture and the final product as a commodity.

The Association's document on its "Insights and Recommendations" was sent to government agencies and various public corporations in order to indicate its support for Chiang Kai-shek's views and in order to indicate that people in the literary world intended to heed Chiang's call for higher standards in literature and art.

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[75] ibid., pp. 125, 129, and Wang Chi-ts'ung, op.cit.,p.3.

Chiang's Two Supplementary Chapters and the reaction of the China Association of Literature and Art contributed directly to the launching of a campaign for the removal of what became known as "the three evils" (san hai 三害) - the poison of Communism, the evil of pornography and the sin of crime and violence"[76] from literature and art.

The Cultural Purification Movement.

Described as "the first collective effort in literary criticism"[77] on the part of educators and men of letters, the Cultural Purification Movement was launched by the China Association of Literature and Art at its conference in May, 1954. A special commission was formed in order to study the problem of "the three evils" and to make the movement as widely known among the general public as possible. The first intimation the public had of the Purification Movement was via Chung-yang jih-pao and Hsin sheng pao 新生報 (New Life) on July 26. An announcement appeared in the two papers which indicated how people in the cultural field had become increasingly alarmed at the kind of reading matter that was to be found in bookshops and on street stalls, and at the fiction which passed as

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[76] WINC, p.44.
[77] WIS, p.85.

literature, but which was pornographic in content and pandered to the "baser" instincts in its readers. Not only was the reader exposed to corrupting influences, the announcement read, but the circulation of such material was adversely affecting the sales of serious literature and was having a negative effect on the writer who aimed at artistic creation. In addition, the mental well-being of the armed forces was not being served by having the "three evils" circulating in society, nor would the cause for a return to the mainland be advanced. The cultural world had so far not been in a position to effect a change, the announcement continued, but the President's Two Supplementary Chapters had finally given it the courage to come to grips with a situation which was extremely detrimental to the morale of the nation. Finally, an appeal was made for a concerted effort on the part of the public in order to make the Purification Movement a success.[78]

This appeal was followed on August 9 by a declaration released to the press entitled, "Tzu-yu Chung-kuo ko chieh wei t'ui-hsing wen-hua ch'ing-chieh yün-tung li-hsing ch'u san hai hsüan-yen" 自由中國各界為推行文化清潔運動屬行除三害宣言 (A Declaration from People of Every Area of Society in Free

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[78] WINC, pp.299-301.

China for the Promotion of a Cultural Purification Movement and for the rigorous Enforcement of the Eradication of the Three Evils.)[79] It did not point the finger at any particular writer or publication, but it expressed the hope that the public would use its power of observation and judge for itself. Secondly, it hoped that influential people and organizations would express their opinions in such a way that the optimum amount of influence might be brought to bear on those who contributed to the spread of the three evils. Thirdly, it entertained the hope that the government would help to develop "proper" (cheng-tang 正當)[80] cultural enterprises. Appended to this declaration were the signatures of five hundred people which included educationalists, journalists, writers, publishers, and representatives of overseas Chinese.

According to the Chung-kuo wen-i nien-chien the declaration was received with great enthusiasm both at home and abroad. Within a month some two million people had added their signatures to those mentioned above. Booksellers on the major streets of Taipei supported the movement, not only by appending their signatures to the declaration, but by refusing to handle any material that could be described as red, yellow or black (crime

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79 ibid., p.301.
80 ibid.

and violence). The major publishing houses like the Commercial Press, Chung-hua Press, Kaiming Press etc. which had been re-established in Taipei, independent of the parent-publishing houses on the mainland,[81] joined the movement by making an appeal to all publishers and bookstores to boycott any material that came within any of the above-mentioned categories.

The Promotions Committee of the Cultural Purification Movement that was formed by the China Association of Literature and Art and other cultural fraternities, stepped up their promotive activities and launched a series of broadcasts over the various broadcasting stations on the Purification Movement. A survey on public opinion was made in order to help determine which books or publications could be said to contain one or more of the "three evils"; and the general public was asked to forward evidence not only of the harmful effects of red, yellow and black books, magazines and the like, but to bring to the notice of the Promotions Committee publications that were libellous or were a source of rumour-mongering. The committee also suggested that the public should notify it of publications that violated national politics or deliberately leaked military intelligence or classified information, thereby endangering national security.

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[81] See Chen, Lucy, in Mancall, op.cit., p.133.

In view of the fact that the government had its own very efficient apparatus for ferreting out enemies of the state, it would seem somewhat inappropriate for a cultural body to call upon the public to act as informers. One can only conclude that the committee was being used as an additional security agency and that the Purification Movement was one means whereby the government could exercise greater control. Whether conscious of being a tool of government in this respect or not, the committee was pleased with the response of the public. Publications which offended public decency "flew in like snowflakes",[82] and it received in the region of over two thousand letters, both signed and unsigned, from "every corner of the country".[83] The findings of the committee were forwarded to the appropriate quarter with the result that the authorities, "deferring to public sentiment"[84] issued instructions that the publishers of ten journals be charged for breaching the Publication Act. Five journals, among them the well-known publication Chung-kuo hsin-wen 中國新聞 (China News) were made to cease publication for ten months; two, one of which was Tzu-yu ya-chou 自由亞洲 (Free Asia), had to suspend publication for six months;

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82 WINC, p.303.
83 ibid.
84 ibid., p.304.

and three journals were made to cease publication for three months. At least six Japanese publications were found to be indecent. A press conference was held in the Chung Shan Hall in Taipei on August 27 at which Ch'en Chi-ying from the China Association of Literature and Art explained the purpose of the Purification Movement and at which the Minister of the Interior, Wang Te-p'u 王德溥, announced the suspension of the aforementioned publications. Two days later the Promotions Committee issued a statement, listing the names of the publications that had fallen foul of the law. It even referred to the relevant clause, article and section of the PublicationAct that had been invoked. The committee wanted it to be known, the statement read, that it was not acting out of malice nor was it setting out to be destructive. It had only the welfare of the nation at heart. Past experience on the mainland had shown, the committee maintained, that there had been a 'complete disregard for the real needs of the people; that decadent literature and sordid stories had deliberately been purveyed to the general public. This had helped to contribute to the devaluation of moral values and to a worsening of the social climate. This as much as anything, it asserted, was one of the main reasons for the loss of the mainland.[85] The measures

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[85] The notion that Communists deliberately disarm a nation by flooding it with salacious literature before seizing control is also advanced by Magister Joseph Howard who says, "One of their standard moves in the

just taken by the authorities had not only put the publishing industry in order, but had helped to cure an unhealthy social climate and had rekindled the belief in counterattack and national recovery.

The statement ended by reiterating that the committee's intent was constructive, not destructive; that what it aimed for was the elevation of writing standards, the expansion of freedom of speech, and the enhancement of the national culture.

The measures taken by the authorities appeared to have an effect for a time, but the fervour generated around the Purification Movement became difficult to sustain and there was a general slackening off in watchfulness. However, from time-to-time during subsequent years, meetings were held, for example, between members of the writers' associations and teachers of secondary schools and advanced colleges in Taipei regarding the influence of "yellow literature" on young people. Teachers were also invited to participate in broadcasts on the problems of salacious literature and on the correct nurture of the mental and

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softening-up process which precedes every takeover is flooding the country to be taken over with salacious literature. Check with the Czechs." in Hart, Harold, ed., Censorship, For and Against, (New York, Hart Publishing Co., 1971), p.29.

physical health of the young.[86] But the Purification Movement, as such, lost its momentum, and was superseded by other movements.

The Taiwan Women Writers' Association

A significant feature of the literary scene in Taiwan is the prominence women writers have achieved over the years. Writing in 1972, the poet, essayist and literary critic, Yü Kuang-chung 余光中[87] remarked that any random selection of a hundred or so writers of modern

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86 In 1956, for example, five talks were broadcast by teachers from various schools in Taipei. The talks were entitled: 1. The grave harm of yellow literature. 2. An appeal to the public for their combined effort in eradicating yellow literature. 3. The public enemy in the education of youth - yellow literature. 4. The evil effects of yellow literature and the physical and mental nurture of young people. 5. The problem of reading for young people. See WINC, pp.306-307.

87 Yü Kuang-chung was born in Nanking, 1928. He came to Taiwan in 1950 and graduated from the Foreign Languages and Literatures Department of the National Taiwan University. Yü was one of the founding members of The Blue Star Poetry Society (Lan hsing she 藍星詩社), a friendly union of poets dedicated to the writing of modern poetry that did not follow a definite style or doctrine. Yü gained a Master of Fine Arts degree at the University of Iowa, and was twice Fulbright visiting-professor in Chinese literature in the United States. He taught English literature at the National Taiwan University until 1972 whereupon he became Chairman of the Department of Western Languages and Literature, National Cheng-chih University. He is now Reader in Chinese at Hong Kong University.
Yü Kuang-chung was one of the few modern poets in Taiwan who stressed the importance of the Chinese tradition but also advocated selective acceptance of foreign influences. His influence as a creative writer is widely felt in Taiwan and Hong Kong especially among students. He has published 24 books which include collections of poetry, essays, literary criticism and translations. Examples of his works are:

fiction would reveal that a quarter of them would be women.[88] This was not always the case. Had Yu reviewed the literary scene in Taiwan prior to its restoration to China, he would have discovered that despite similarities between the vernacular literature movements in Taiwan and on the mainland, there was one significant difference. Whereas women on the mainland were caught up in their youth in the May Fourth Movement and in the subsequent movements for the emancipation of women and the advanvement of the use of the vernacular in literature and education and had thereby developed into competent writers, their Taiwanese cousins had not participated in the literary activities of the same period.

Wan sheng chieh 萬聖節 (All Saints' Day), 1960; Chung-ju-shih 鐘乳石 (Stalactite), 1960; Lien ti lien-hsiang 蓮的聯想 (Associations of the Lotus), 1964, and Wu-ling shao-nien 五陵少年 (The Youth from Wuling), 1967. Translations into English of Yü Kuang-chungs poetry can be found in: Yip Wai Lim, Modern Chinese Poetry. Twenty Poets from the Republic of China, 1955-1965, Iowa, University of Iowa Press, 1970; Chi, Pang-yüan, ed., An Anthology of Contemporary Chinese Literature. Taiwan: 1949-1974. 2 vols., Taipei, National Institute for Compilation and Translation, 1975. Hereafter cited as ACCL. See also Yü Kwang-chung, ed., New Chinese Poetry, Taipei, Heritage Press, 1960.

88 Yü Kuang-chung, Preface to Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsüeh ta-hsi 中國現代文學大系 (A Comprehensive Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature, 1950-1970), 4 vols. (Taipei, Chü-jen ch'u-pan-she 巨人出版社, 1972), vol.1, p.6. Hereafter cited as, WHTH.

Thus, not a single woman writer was to be found when Taiwan was restored to China in 1945.[89]

The picture began to change with the arrival of women writers of note from the mainland like Su Hsüeh-lin 蘇雪林;[90] Hsieh Ping-ying 謝冰瑩,[91]

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89 See Chung Chao-cheng 鐘肇政, ed., Pen sheng chi tso-chia tso-p'in hsüan-chi 本省籍作家作品選集 (A Collection of Works by Taiwanese Writers) 10 vols. (Taipei, Wen T'an She 文壇社, 1965) vol.6, p.3.

90 Su Hsüeh-lin was born in Taiping, Anhwei in 1899. After her graduation from the National Normal University for Women, Peking, she went to France where she studied Fine Arts. Upon her return to China in 1925 she was appointed Professor of Chinese literature at Hu Kiang University, Shanghai. She was subsequently at Tung Wu University, Soochow, Anhwei University and Wuhan University. In 1949 she went to Hong Kong for a year, then spent the following two years in Paris. She arrived in Taiwan in 1952 and joined the staff at Taiwan Normal University. In 1955 she became professor of Chinese literature at Cheng Kung University, but left in 1965 to join the staff at Nanyang University. Apart from novels, short stories and essays she has written a history of Chinese literature. She also wrote the Introduction to Schyns, Jos., 1500 Modern Chinese Novels and Plays, Peiping, Catholic University Press, 1948.

91 Hsieh Ping-ying, was born in 1906 in Hsinhua, Hunan. After attending several schools for girls, she entered the Central Military and Political Academy in Wuhan in 1926, received military training and joined the Revolutionary Army during its Northern Expedition. Hsieh Ping-ying came to prominence as a writer when she wrote an account of her experiences in the army entitled, Ts'ung chün jih-chi 從軍日記 (translated into English as Diary of An Amazon) which first appeared in Chung-yang jih-pao. After the disbandment of the women's brigades, Hsieh Ping-ying went to Japan, and on her return to China taught Chinese at various middle schools. In 1935 she again went to Japan and entered Waseda University where she studied western literature. With the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937 she returned to China and was very active organizing the women's Service Corps. She became editor of the literary supplement of the Hsin min pao 新民報 (New People); she went to the front at Hsüchow where she served as field

Chang Hsiu-ya 張秀亞;[92] and the playwright, Li Man-kuei 李曼瑰.[93] These four women had a long history of personal involvement with the literary scene on the mainland of China. They had novels, short stories,

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reporter. In 1940 she became editor for the literary monthly, Huang ho 黃河 (Yellow River) in Sian. Three years later she took a teaching position in Chengtu. After the war she went to Peking and taught at the National Normal University. She arrived in Taiwan in 1948. A prolific writer of essays, short stories and novels, she has at least fifty publications to her credit.

92 Chang Hsiu-ya was born in 1919 in Tsanghsien, Hopei. She graduated from Fujen University, Peking and went to Chungking where she became editor of the literary supplement of I shih pao 益世報. In 1945 she returned to Peking and taught English for three years at Fujen University. She left the mainland for Taiwan in 1948. When Fujen University was reconstituted in Taiwan Chang Hsiu-ya joined the teaching staff of that university. She also became a member of the National Assembly. She has written ten novels, sixteen collections of essays, two collections of poetry, four biographies and an eleven-volumed history of Greek and Persian art. Chang Hsiu-ya is a prominent Roman Catholic and is married to the younger brother of Cardinal Paul Yü Pin 于斌, (d. 1978).

93 Li Man-kuei was born in Taishan, Kwangtung in 1906. She received her BA degree from Yenching University, Peking, and her MA degree from the University of Michigan. She did further studies at Columbia and Yale Universities. She was invited by the Library of Congress in 1936 to write the biographies of writers and artists for the biographical dictionary, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period. In the same year she wrote a four-act play in English, The Grand Garden, which won the 1937 Hopwood Award for Drama at the University of Michigan. Li Man-kuei had written at least seven plays by the time she moved to Taiwan. From 1955 to 1967 she was head of the Department of Drama and Cinema, Political Staff College, and from 1963 to 1967, head of the Department of Drama in the College of Chinese Culture. In 1956 her play, Han kung ch'un-ch'iu 漢宮春秋(The Pretender), written in 1954, which depicted the usurper, Wang Mang 王莽, (45 B.C. - 23 A.D.), broke all box-office records when it was staged in Taipei. The following year she won the Ministry of Education Drama Award. Three other historical plays were written in the years 1957

essays, poetry and plays to their credit. They had all functioned as teachers, lecturers, reporters, editors and literary critics. In short, they were living examples of what could be achieved by women writers and they were eminently suited to the task of stimulating and encouraging an interest on the part of other women in creative writing. It became obvious that this could best be accomplished via an association where members could meet, exchange ideas, and give each other moral support.

These four women were, of course, not the only women writers to have come over from the mainland. There were other less well-known as well as incipient writers. However, as the senior, both in age and experience, Su Hsueh-lin took the initiative and called together a gathering of some thirty-two women writers on January 16, 1955. A preparatory committee, consisting of nine members, was elected to set in motion the appropriate steps for the formation of a writers' association. Four months later, on May 5, the inaugural meeting of the T'ai-wan sheng fu-nü hsieh-tso hsieh-hui 臺灣省婦女寫作協會 (The Taiwan Women Writers' Association) was held in Taipei under the chairmanship

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to 1969, as well as a play dealing with the problem of juvenile delinquency. Since 1967 Li Man-kuei has concentrated on writing and producing plays, leading the Little Theatre Movement, and overseeing the Drama Appreciation Council and the Drama Centre.

of Su Hsüeh-lin, with at least one hundred delegates from the six major cities in Taiwan. Present also were representatives of the Provincial Government, the Central Committee of the Chinese Women's Anti-aggression League,[94] the Chinese Youth Writers' Association, and the press.

The main purpose of the new Association was outlined in Clause 2 of its Charter which stated that the Association existed to encourage women to write; to examine problems pertaining to women and "to reinforce the power of resistance against Communism and Russia through the implementation of San Min Chu I."[95] A manifesto was released at this inaugural meeting which read:

> This is the knitting together of a body of women with a love of writing who have gathered together from all strata of society in Free China. There are those of us who come from the offices of organizations and establishments; there are others who have come from the pots and stoves in their kitchens, and there are some who have come from schools where the process of instruction does not cease even in times of distress. But we have one love in common - our love of writing. We have but one objective. We aspire to be able to take up the pen and write about our own hearts' desires;

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94 The Chinese Women's Anti-aggression League (Fu lien hui 婦聯會 was founded April 17, 1950 by Madame Chiang Kai-shek. The League seeks to organize and train women for social service and to assist the armed forces, either by sewing clothes for military personnel or by operating a relief service for the dependents of members of the armed forces. The League also runs orphanages and nurseries for children of civil servants and military personnel. It also broadcasts messages to the mainland.

95 WINC, p.105.

> about the renaissance of Free China, and the darkness behind the iron curtain on the mainland. We have for this reason gathered together today so that from now on we can consolidate all this fragmented power and use our army of pens to begin to move into the front line and to vanquish the hearts of our enemies.[96]

The manifesto went on to point out that freedom and culture went hand in hand, and that the one could not exist without the other. Those who were gathered together would therefore work strenuously for the enhancement of culture and for the protection of freedom not just for the sake of those women who lived within the range of "the lighthouse of freedom",[97] but more especially for the sake of their "sisters who were struggling in the dark."[98]

Once the necessary formalities had been attended to, the conference got down to the practical business connected with the establishment of a social organization.

Although the Association had chosen to call itself the "Taiwan"Women Writers' Association, it was quick to point out that it was not meant to exclude women from other provinces. Despite the name, it wanted to be "national" in character.[99]

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96 ibid.

97 ibid., p.106.

98 ibid.

99 The name was eventually changed to Chung-kuo fu-nü hsieh-tso hsieh-hui 中國婦女寫作協會 on April 20, 1969 see Chung-hua min-kuo tang-tai wen-i tso-chia ming-lu 中華民國當代文藝作家名錄 (Directory of Contemporary Authors of the Republic of China), Taipei, National Central Library, 1970, p.76. Hereafter cited as TCML.

As mentioned earlier, the Association started off with a modest membership of 100. By 1966 the membership had grown to 335.[100] This was not an enormous increase, but during those eleven years the Association organized symposia on writing;[101] published whole collections of short stories, novels and essays written by women; engaged in anti-Communist propaganda; donated journals and books to the armed forces, and even arranged for its members to visit soldiers stationed on Kinmen (Quemoy), Matsu and the Pescadores to help boost their morale.

The general criticism of many women writers who have appeared on the literary scene in Taiwan over the years is that they are but "gifted amateurs"[102] and that their range of topics is limited and their concerns too domestic and personal.[103] This criticism may be justified. It is, however equally true that quite a

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100 WINC, p.107.

101 In June, 1955, for example, the Taiwan Women Writers' Association invited Lo Chia-lun 羅家倫, the celebrated historian, poet and calligrapher and one of the principle leaders of the May Fourth Movement, to speak at a symposium on, "On the theory of writing". In March, 1956, Lu Yüeh-hua 盧月花, the Dickensian scholar, was invited to speak on, "Methods of writing as seen in the novels of Dickens". In September, 1957 the Shakespearean scholar, Liang Shih-ch'iu spoke on, "The relationship between Shakespeare's plays and fiction". See WINC, p.189.

102 Chen, Lucy, op.cit., p.138.

103 See Yü Kuang-chung, op.cit., p.6.

number have achieved equal stature with leading male writers and that their work has been of such a quality that they have won literary awards.[104]

The Armed Forces' Literature and Art Movement

It was noted earlier that 1949 saw a mass exodus of people from the mainland as the Communist armies won victory after victory over the demoralized Nationalist forces. By the time resistance to the Communists had finally collapsed, as many as two million mainland Chinese had crossed the Taiwan Straits by any and every available craft. Among these were the members of the defeated army; generals and admirals in their hundreds, and almost half a million conscripts under command to be put ashore in Taiwan.[105]

The soldiers who had come over with Ch'en Yi when Taiwan was restored to China in 1945 had behaved in such a manner as to leave a feeling of bitter resentment among the Taiwanese,[106] and the arrival of almost half a million more in 1949, shattered and in a state of confusion, and putting pressure on an already over-burdened economy, only added fuel to the fire. However, martial law kept any expression of resentment in check.

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104 See Chen, Lucy, op.cit., and Lancashire, E.M., The Novels of Meng Yao, M.A. Thesis, University of Melbourne, 1969.

105 See Kerr, op.cit., pp.367, 370.

106 ibid., pp. 97-98, 371 and BDRC, Vol.1, p.336.

On March 1, 1950, Chiang Kai-shek resumed the office of president and took steps to establish full control. He acknowledged that the Nationalist failures had contributed to the disaster on the mainland; he assumed his full share of the responsibility for the loss of the mainland, and he vowed to dedicate himself to the mission of recovering the mainland.[107] However, a return to the mainland could not be accomplished with the army in the shape in which it now found itself. Though some first class units of the army and the air force, and a large portion of the navy had been moved to Taiwan prior to the final collapse of the Nationalist forces,[108] there were too many generals and senior officers who had not attained their rank through valour in the battlefield and who were consequently not fit to command in modern combat. Many of the enlisted men were semi-trained, illiterate conscripts in poor physical condition who had little idea why they were fighting.[109] A complete overhaul of the armed forces was needed. Useless or ageing generals or colonels had to be retired, and

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107 See BDRC, Vol.1, p.336 and Shieh, Milton J.T., The Kuomintang: Selected Historical Documents 1894-1969, (St. John's University Press, Center of Asian Studies, 1970), pp.210-216.

108 See Chaffee, op.cit., p.400.

109 See Griffith, Samuel B, The Chinese People's Liberation Army, (London, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1968), pp.79, 84.

thousands of conscripts demobilized,[110] and what were left had to be reorganized, re-armed and welded into a strong fighting force.

As already indicated, the United States, which had been Chiang's principle source of external support, had at first dissociated itself from him and had turned down his repeated requests for more aid. The changed strategic situation in the Far East following the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, caused the United States to revise its attitude and to reverse its earlier policy. In consequence, military and economic aid began to flow into Taiwan. With this fresh turn in his fortunes, Chiang Kai-shek eagerly set about rebuilding the military organization into a modern fighting force. However, military equipment and training by themselves were not a sufficient guarantee of success. The fighting man also had to be highly motivated and to believe in the cause for which he was fighting. He had to be convinced that Communism had to be vanquished and that the mainland of China had to be recovered.

As Commandant at the Whampoa Military Academy some 25 years earlier, Chiang Kai-shek had seen how ideological indoctrination had instilled in young men a sense of dedication to the then revolution.[111] He had witnessed

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[110] See Kerr, op.cit., p.385.

[111] The Military Academy was opened on June 16, 1924 and concentrated on turning out an indoctrinated force on the model of Trotsky's Red Army. Political Commissars were attached at various levels so that each soldier was indoctrinated with the San Min Chu I.

the way in which politically-conscious young officers had been able to influence the men under their command in such a manner as to affect their performance in battle.[112] He had learnt later, to his cost, that commitment to a cause, diminished among his own forces, had been preserved among the Communists and accounted for their superiority despite their being less well equipped than his own men. If a return to the mainland was to become a reality, each member of the armed forces would have to be changed from an ill-educated man to a man with an ideology to live by, and with an understanding of what he was fighting for. Of prime importance in the reorganization and the regeneration of the armed forces, therefore, was the strengthening of political indoctrination. The organ that was to set such a programme in motion was the General Political Department of the Ministry of National Defense which placed political officers in all branches of the military establishment and initiated programmes of political indoctrination.[113] An innovative feature of these programmes was the attempt to help officers and men to use their off-duty hours in a healthy and creative

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See Crozier, Brian, The Man Who Lost China, (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976), pp.71,90 and BDRC Vol. 1, p.323.

112 See Griffiths, op.cit., pp.14-15.

113 See BDRC, p.311.

manner rather than, as so often in the past, to allow them to fritter away their leisure hours in fruitless and unhealthy pursuits. For the man who wished to read, however, most of the literature available to him in the early fifties was either escapist in character or full of depression and melancholy. There was nothing to inspire acts of courage or a brighter outlook on the future. The General Political Department therefore made an appeal to artists and men of letters to give encouragement to the enlisted man by changing the tone of their writing; by portraying the positive side of life and by describing the overcoming of difficulties. Indeed, the Department went even further by suggesting that the civilian writer might take it upon himself to help the soldier who was striving to become sufficiently articulate to be able to write about himself and his military environment. Civilian artists and writers responded to this appeal to "take literature and art to the armed forces"[114] by participating in a series of discussions on the many aspects of practising the arts within a military context. The discussions were broadcast over the Armed Forces Network in Taipei in December, 1950, and the transcripts of these discussions were forwarded to the General Political Department and to the press.

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[114] WINC, p.528.

Useful as these talks no doubt were to the budding soldier-writer and soldier-artist in pointing out the possibilities for the development of artistic talent, they nevertheless could not give him the personal guidance and constructive criticism that was so necessary if he was to put pen to paper. An arrangement was consequently made by the General Political Department whereby the China Correspondence School for Literature and Art, established by Li Ch'en-tung, and which offered a wide range of courses on literature and art, should offer instruction to those officers and men who showed an interest in or an aptitude for the arts. The records show that a large number did in fact avail themselves of the courses offered.[115]

Much of the subject-matter of the "military" writing that flowed from the pens of these first warrior-writers was concerned with the loss of the mainland; the battle against the Communists, or with descriptions of life in the armed forces. The standard of writing was not very high, however, and it was described by civilian writers as being immature and shallow. In fact, it even earned the name fan-kung pa-ku 反共八股(anti-Communist eight-legged essays), an appellation used to denote the

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115 See WINC, p.43 and Mu Chung-nan, "'Wu szu' kan yen" 「五四」感言 (On Feelings about May Fourth), in WT, No.23, (May, 1962), pp.8-10.

trite, the stereotyped, the pedantic or the obscure.[116] However, by encouraging even the least talented to participate in a programme of self-education and artistic creation, the General Political Department set in motion something that had never been tried among the Nationalist forces before and which was in time to result in an unexpected harvest of fine writers like the novelists Ssu-ma Chung-yuan 司馬中原,[117] Chu Hsi-ning 朱西寧,[118] and the poets Kuan Kuan 管管[119]

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116 See Shih Ch'ou 石濤, "Shih nien lai tti tzu-yu Chung-kuo wen-i tso-p'in ti chien-t'ao" 十年來的自由中國文藝作品的檢討 (An Analysis of the Literature of the Last Ten Years in Free China) in WT, No.6, (May, 1960), p.7.

117 Ssu-ma Chung-yüan was born in Kiangsu in 1933. He enlisted in the army at the age of 16. He came to Taiwan in 1949. A prolific writer, he has published more than thirty novels and collections of short stories and essays, and has won several literary awards. One of his most well-known novels is Huang yüan 荒原 (The Wasteland), published in 1961. Much of his writing is concerned with the Chinese countryside and its people.

118 Chu Hsi-ning was born in the province of Shantung in 1927. He studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Hangchow, but enlisted before graduating. He started to write in 1946 but did not develop as a writer until he came to Taiwan. He has six collections of short stories to his credit, as well as several novels. Chu Hsi-ning's early fiction dealt with the social changes in the Chinese countryside. Later he changed the location of his stories to Taiwan. However, his focus of attention was still on farmers, labourers and soldiers. Chu Hsi-ning retired from the army to write full-time. He now regards his earlier works of fiction devoted to anti-Communist themes as being immature because they were too "blatantly didactic and propagandistic". See ACCL, Vol.2, p.75.

119 Kuan Kuan was born in Shantung province in 1930. In the early sixties he was stationed on the off-shore island of Kinmen (Quemoy). Later he worked at the Military Broadcasting Station first at Tsoying, Kao hsiung, and then at Hualien. He belonged to that

and Lo Men 羅門.[120]

As a tangible reward for the best offering of the day, the Ministry of Defense instituted in 1954 a Military Award; but as the martial tone and the spirit of combat in a literary work was considered as important, if not more important, than artistic excellence, many of the songs, plays, essays and works of fiction that won awards in the year bore such titles as, for example, Tsui-hou chen-ti 最後陣地 (The Last Stand); Wu-shih chin-hsing ch'u 武士進行曲 (The Warriors' March); Ping-kung chih shen 兵工之神 (The God of the

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group of poets, mostly naval officers stationed in South Taiwan, who founded the Genesis (Epoch) Poetry Society (Ch'uang-shih-chi she 創世紀社). He has developed a highly original style which, because of its diction, syntax and imagery, has either offended or delighted his readers.

120 Lo Men was born in Canton in 1928. He received his education at the Chinese Air Force Cadet School. He later became a senior technician at the Civil Aeronautics Administration in Taipei. In 1967 he graduated from the United States Federal Aviation Administration Training Centre. As a young poet, Lo Men joined the Modern Poetry Society (Hsien-tai-shih she 現代詩社). He later resigned, however, and joined the Blue Star Society. His poetry shows the influences of Western art and literature from Existentialism to Abstract Expressionism, though his religious frame of reference is Christian. Among his works are the collections of poetry, Shu-kuang 曙光 (Light at Dawn), 1958; Szu-wang ti ta 死亡的塔 (The Pagoda of Death), 1969, and the collection of critical essays, Hsien-tai-jen ti pei-chu ching-shen chi hsien-tai shih-jen 現代人的悲劇精神及現代詩人 (The Tragic Spirit of Modern Man and the Poet), 1964.

Ordnance Department) and Hsiao ping 小兵 (The Little Soldier).[121]

The experiment in getting"the soldier to write about the soldier; to sing about the soldier; to act the part of the soldier; to paint the soldier... in order to stir the emotions of fellow countrymen at home and abroad"[122] seemed to be paying off. It also demonstrated that it was possible in a modern context, as well as in a traditional military context, to develop a person who approximated to the ideal put forward by Chiang Kai-shek in his Two Supplementary Chapters: a person "as proficient in military as in literary matters."[123]

Chinese history, of course, abounds with persons who measured up to this type of ideal man: the man of war who was at the same time a man of letters and culture.[124]

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121 See WINC, p.374,ff.

122 WINC, p.527.

123 Chiang Kai-shek, op.cit., (translated version) p.71.

124 Some of the examples given by Ko Hsien-ning 葛賢寧, poet and literary historian, are: Liu Pang 劉邦 the founder of the Han dynasty, 206-195 B.C.; T'ang T'ai Tsung 唐太宗, 627-650; Chu Yüan-chang 朱元璋 the founder of the Ming dynasty, best known as Hung Wu 洪武, 1368-1399; Tseng Kuo-fan 曾國藩, 1811-1872, and Tso Tsung-t'ang 左宗棠, 1812-1885. See Ko Hsien-ning, "Lun wen-i yü wu-i ti chieh-ho" 論文藝與武藝的結合 (On The Combining of the Literary Arts and the Martial Arts), in YSWl, Vol.1, No.1, (March, 1954), pp.8-10.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Fighting Literature Movement

> "The value of the artist lies in the fact that he asserts a sense of order, of the power of the human spirit, into the sordid conflict of our everyday lives. He sees all life as a battle between chaos and order. It is the vision of order, of conquest of the obstacles and complications of living, that inspires men with new energy and purpose. Life is inconceivable without this vision of purpose."
>
> Colin Wilson, The Age of Defeat.[1]

The impression may have been given so far that every writer in Taiwan was wholeheartedly behind every literary association founded during the early and middle fifties and was producing works along the lines suggested by orthodox Kuomintang writers, the majority of whom belonged to The China Association of Literature and Art. This, of course, was not the case. There were writers who persistently refused to join any alliance, and who maintained that the associations achieved little beyond a frenzy of activity. The members of these associations were busy all right, they maintained, but "busy socializing; busy holding conferences and signing their names ...,"[2]

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[1] Wilson, Colin, The Age of Defeat, (London, Gollanz, 1959), p.154.

[2] Hsü Kuang, 徐光 , "Wen-i-chieh ti ping-t'ai" 文藝界的病態 (The Abnormal State of the Realm of Literature), in WT, Vol.2, No.10, (1954), p.4.

and many so-called literary men were becoming known, not for the quality of their work, but for their intense activity, while others were becoming known solely through the machinations of small selective, literary cliques, which applauded only those of their own kind while "harbour[ing] deep prejudices, [and being] suspicious and jealous of anyone else ...."[3] The result of this, they maintained, was to create "harmful undercurrents"[4] and much "wrangling".[5]

The "harmful undercurrents" and "wrangling" referred to by the writer quoted here, were in all probability those generated upon the formation of three different poetry societies which came into being almost simultaneously in 1954. One of the questions being debated at the time, quite apart from that of how literature could serve a political end, was the problem of modernization and of Western influences on Chinese literature, and on modern poetry in particular. These debates had been set in motion largely as a result of the kind of poetry that came from the pens of those poets who called themselves Modernists (Hsien-tai p'ai 現代派), although they did not form themselves into a poetry society until January, 1956. They had started publishing a journal in 1953 in which they declared their determination to promote the modernization of poetry and called for new forms, new

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[3] ibid.
[4] ibid.
[5] ibid.

techniques and new content on the model of Western poets from Baudelaire (1821-67) on.[6] Opposed to this "transplantation of modern Western poetry into Chinese soil"[7] was the Blue Star Poetry Society (Lan-hsing shih-she 藍星詩社) which came into being as a reaction to the radicalism of the Modernists. Though influenced by Western literature, the Blue Star Poetry Society was determined to maintain a balance between East and West.[8] Entering the debate was also the Genesis Poetry Society (Ch'uang-shih-chi she 創世紀社, also referred to, in English, as Epoch Society)[9] which was made up of a group of young naval officers stationed at the seaport of Tsoying in southern Taiwan. They started out by being strongly opposed to the Modernists and claimed to see no reason why modern Chinese poetry should "kowtow ... to European and American idols."[10] They held that modern poetry should maintain a living native tradition and that it was up to them to provide models for a national poetry. (Ironically, what started out as an anti-Modernist movement among poetry writers in the navy was ultimately to contain more extreme and avant garde

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6 See Lo Fu 洛夫, "Chung-kuo hsien-tai shih ti ch'eng-chang" 中國現代詩的成長 (The Coming of Age of Modern Chinese Poetry), in Hsien-tai wen-hsüeh 現代文學 (Modern Literature), No.46, (Taipei, March, 1972), pp.54-55.

7 Yü Kuang-chung, "Ti shih-ch'i ko tan-ch'en" 第十七個誕辰 (The Seventeenth Birthday), ibid, p.13.

8 See ACCL, Vol.1, "Introduction to the Poems", pp.3-4 and Yü Kuang-chung, ed., New Chinese Poetry, (Taipei, Heritage Press, 1960), p.XII.

writers than the Modernists themselves.) Opposed to all attempts at modernization were the established poets "wedded to the native classical tradition."[11] It was because of the conflicting views expressed by these various groups as well as by literary critics and literary theorists that a lively, though at times bitter, controversy developed.

Those, however, who were concerned with the move away from "propaganda-motivated writing"[12] laid the blame for the current state of affairs on the vacuum they believed had been created as a result of the ending of the Purification Movement. They consequently hurriedly drew up a plan for a new movement, which they felt would draw all participants in the various controversies of the time together, and which would help them to close ranks in order to concentrate their attention on their common enemy.[13]

Closing ranks appeared to be particularly important at the end of 1954 and in the spring and summer of 1955.

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9 See ACCL, Vol.1, "Introduction to the Poems", p.4 and Palandri, Angela, C.Y. Jung, Modern Verse from Taiwan, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1972), p.7.

10 Yü Kuang-chung, New Chinese Poetry, p.X.

11 Chen, Lucy, op. cit., p.137.

12 Yü Kuang-chung, New Chinese Poetry, p.VII.

13 Mu Chung-nan, "Fen-tou shih nien" 奮鬥十年 (Ten Years of Struggle), in WT, No.24, (June, 1962), p.8.

As we have already seen, the Communists were applying strong military pressure on the off-shore islands controlled by the Kuomintang from the middle of 1954 on. In addition, the Premier of the People's Republic of China, Chou En-lai, was calling upon the Chinese people and the People's Liberation Army to liberate Taiwan.[14] Although a defense treaty was being negotiated with the United States, it was not signed until December 2, 1954, and it did not come into force until March, 1955.[15] As a consequence of these factors, there was a considerable amount of apprehension in Taiwan which, it was felt, was hardly likely to be alleviated by writers quarrelling amongst themselves instead of producing a literature which would help boost public morale and inject a new vitality into the proposed counterattack against the mainland.

The plan for a new literature movement, drawn up by Mu Chung-nan, amended by Wang Lan, and circulated among likeminded writers for comment, was presented to the Chief of the Fourth Section of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang, Ma Hsing-yeh 馬星野.[16] The name that

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14 See Chiu Hungdah, op. cit., p.143.

15 ibid, pp. 144, 146.

16 Ma Hsing-yeh was born in Chekiang in 1908. He gained his Bachelor of Journalism degree at Missouri University in 1934. From 1935 to 1948 he was Professor and Head of the Department of Journalism, National Chengchi University. From 1942 to 1946 he was Director of the Press Department, Ministry of Information. He was the publisher of Central Daily News from 1948 to 1952. In 1948 he was a delegate to the United Nation's conference on freedom of information. From

had suggested itself to Mu Chung-nan for the new literature that was to result from the new movement was "Fighting Literature" (chan-tou wen-i 戰鬥文藝). It so happened that at the same time that Mu was soliciting opinions on his draft plan, Chiang Kai-shek passed down a directive for the promotion of a "War Literature" (chan-cheng wen-hsüeh 戰爭文學). The Central Committee of the Kuomintang, however, came down in favour of "Fighting Literature."[17] Had the term "War Literature" been chosen as the term to designate this new literature, there is no doubt that the civilian writer would have felt that this was a movement best left to the writer in the armed forces, in which case the whole reason for initiating a movement, namely, "to unite civilian writers,"[18] would have been negated.

The Fighting Literature Movement

The Fighting Literature Movement was initiated by Chiang Kai-shek at the beginning of 1955, at an armed forces' conference on literature and art, when he called

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1952 to 1954 Ma Hsing-yeh was Deputy Chief of the Kuomintang's Planning Committee; and from 1954 to 1959 he was Chief of the Fourth Section of the Kuomintang, Central Committee. He was made Ambassador to Panama in 1959, a post he held until 1964 when he was made President of the Press Association of Taipei. He was President of Central News Agency from 1964 to 1971. Ma Hsing-yeh is also a member of the National Assembly. His publications are concerned with journalism and its history, as well as freedom of information.

17 Mu Chung-nan, op.cit., p.8.

18 WINC, p.134.

upon writers to meet the challenge of Communism by producing a literature which was vital and positive.

All the media immediately went into action and publicized the initiation of the new literature movement.[19]

Initially, the name itself caused a certain amount of confusion even though articles on "literature doing battle", "literary counter-offensive" or "the fighting spirit of literature" had appeared in papers and journals during the preceding year.[20] Consequently, Young Lions' Literature, the official organ of the Chinese Youth Writers' Association, which, as we have seen, was affiliated to the China Youth Corps under the directorship of Chiang Ching-kuo, felt obliged to define and interpret both the aims of the literature envisaged and the adversaries against whom this new literature was to be directed. In its January, 1955, number, the editorial entitled, Chan-tou wen-i hsiang shui chan-tou? Tsen-yang chan-tou? 戰鬥文藝何誰戰鬥？怎樣戰鬥？ (Against Whom is Fighting Literature directed? How do We fight?)[21] pointed out that although the term, Fighting Lierature, was new, the idea behind it was not. Life was a continuous

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19 see ibid., p.46.

20 see, for example, Chang Tao-fan, "Lun wen-i tso-chan yü fan-kung" 論文藝作戰與反攻 (On Literature Doing Battle and Counter-attacking), in Chung-yang jih-pao, May 4, 1953.

21 YSWI, Vol.2, No.1, January, 1955, p.3.

struggle from the cradle to the grave, and any literature which "was of service" to humanity could be called Fighting Literature. At present there was a struggle going on between the "free" world and the "enslaved" world, a combat between Communism and anti-Communism. If literature was to be true to life, this struggle or fight had to be reflected in the writing of present-day writers; and if literature was to be of service to humanity, it had to reveal the true nature of Communism.

There were three main targets towards which Fighting Literature should be directed said the editorial. The first and obvious one was the "Communist bandits" on the mainland and Russian imperialism. Secondly, Fighting Literature should be directed at anything that sapped one's "fighting strength"; that lowered the morale of the people or undermined the efforts of people who were concerned for the welfare of the nation. The second target, therefore, was "... traitorous businessmen who upset the economy; avaricious officials and their grasping underlings who weaken government authority; and those ruffians and vandals who humiliate the law-abiding and do evil."[22] Thirdly, Fighting Literature should be aimed at "defeatism, pessimism, and the spirit of degeneracy"[23] which were bred by those

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[22] ibid.

[23] ibid.

who had no faith in a victory over Communism; by those who were so mesmerized by the freedom of the individual that they never thought in terms of contributing their own energy for the preservation of freedom for all; and by those whose main occupation was socializing and the pursuit of pleasure, and who, in fact, were "enjoying the fruits of other people's blood and sweat."[24]

Fighting Literature, then, was not meant to be just another propaganda device, nor just another literary theory. It was to be a literature which moved men in their innermost beings. For that reason, quality was of the essence. Unless the contents came alive; unless the technique was "original" (ch'uang-hsin 創新), this new literature would never be able to "compete for" the attention of the vast number of readers, nor would it "influence" or "educate" them. It was to be hoped, said the editorial, that, apart from new writers emerging as a consequence of this new direction in literature, older established writers would lend their support to the movement.

There were two tendencies evident in the current literary scene that left much to be desired, the editorial continued. One was "Feng shen pang-ism" 封神榜,[25] that is to say, other-worldliness or

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[24] ibid.

[25] Feng shen pang, (The Investiture of the Gods), is a 16th century mythological novel of about 100 chapters. It is based on the historical period of the last king of the Shang Dynasty (1751-1111 B.C.) when the country

escapism, which made much of the literature of the day irrelevant to the situation in which Taiwan found itself, and the other was a "gang-leader mentality" (chai-chu szu-hsiang 寨主思想): an emphasis on seniority by established writers which was singularly intimidating for the up-and-coming generation of writers. The only cure for both of these "unfortunate phenomena" it said, was honest and fair criticism on the part of those whose occupation it was to pass judgement on literary products. Therefore, a standard of objective and impartial literary criticism had to be set.

This initial definition of Fighting Literature was followed in February by the printing in Literature Forum of the original draft plan which laid down the basic principles for a Fighting Literature.[26] In sum, it said that: Fighting Literature must be national in mood and form; it must be in the language of the masses; it must be healthy, correct and filled with the spirit of combat and enterprise; it must be enthusiastic, forceful and realistic. In Fighting Literature the demarcation lines between love and hate,

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was torn by the struggles between King Chou Hsin and the Duke of Chou. Many gods and spirits are sent to earth in human form to take part in the strife and bring about the downfall of King Chou Hsin. For further information see Liu Ts'un-yan, Buddhist and Taoist Influence on Chinese Novels, Vol.1, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitze, 1962.

26 See Editorial, "'Chan-tou wen-i' pi-t'an" 戰鬥文藝 筆談 (Notes on Fighting Literature), in WT, Vol.3, No.5., (February, 1955), p.1. See also Chao

good and bad must not be blurred. It must aim at having artistic value. Fighting Literature must not contain anything that will either be of help to the enemy or will enhance the enemy's prestige. There must be no room for eroticism or bad taste in Fighting Literature. Neither must it disseminate decadence or negative mental attitudes. It must not be so fanciful or so bound to tradition that it is divorced from reality. Above all, Fighting Literature must be based on nationalism, on the Principle of the People's Rights and on the Principle of the People's Livelihood. It should promote social ideals and help establish the ideal of a national culture.

Further Attempts to Expound and Define Fighting Literature

Despite the explanation given by the editorial in Young Lions' Literature and the publication of the draft plan in Literature Forum a month later, it was erroneously assumed by many that Fighting Literature meant tales of battle and descriptions of life in the armed forces. Further clarification was needed, for, as Su Hsüeh-lin pointed out, "If Fighting Literature can only be written by those who have participated in the battlefield, then all the nation's writers will have to lay

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Tzu-fan 趙滋蕃, T'an wen lun i 談文論藝 (Discussions on Literature), San Min wen-k'u 三民文庫, 46, (Taipei, San Min shu-chü, 2nd edit., 1970), pp.76-78.

down their pens."[27] Clarification came in the form of a series of articles that were distributed to the various literary journals. These articles were based on the findings of the China Association of Literature and Art and the Chinese Youth Writers' Association after their members had hammered out the necessary definitions and guidelines in meetings and seminars.[28]

It was obvious to critics and literary theorists alike that some external criteria had to be applied if Fighting Literature was not to degenerate into vague and woolly outpourings by enthusiastic, but unskilled and uncritical, writers. Consequently, the establishment of a Fighting Criticism was mooted right from the start. The editor of Wen-i yüeh-pao 文藝月報 (Literature Monthly), for example, tried to show that there were precedents for the kind of criticism that was being called for, if not in the Chinese, at least in the European literary tradition. Drawing heavily on French, German and English critics,[29] the editor spelt out what criticism, and Fighting Criticism in particular ought to be. The writer called for a criticism that did not descend to flattery; one that

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27 Su Hsüeh-lin, "Tz'u shih tz'u ti wen-i ti chan-tou hsing" 此時此地文藝的戰鬥性 (The Fighting Spirit of Literature Here and Now), in Wen-i yüeh-pao 文藝月報, (Literature Monthly, April, 1955), p.3.

28 See WINC, p.313.

29 e.g. Jules Lemaitre, Richard Mueller-Freinfels, Prof. Richardson and Hunt. The article gives these names in brackets without, however, supplying the appropriate Christian names for the last two.

was objective and constructive; one that took itself seriously and regarded itself as much a part of literature as the literary work it was judging. Above all, the editorial continued, literary criticism had to be practised by those who knew what literature was about; it was not something that could be left to the beginner, the uninitiated.

For those who are used to reading the book reviews of European and American literary journals, the above statement seems somewhat elementary and obvious; but it is to be remembered that the role of critic does not sit easily on the Chinese writer, for, as T.A. Hsia put it, "We are a tenderhearted people who cannot bear to say, or hear said, anything impolite about our friends ... if once in a while a hostile review appears, it will commonly be assumed by the reading public that reviewer and author must have something personal to settle between them."[30]

It was precisely this attitude towards literary criticism that the editor of Literature Monthly was seeking to change.

Having dealt with the problem of objective and constructive criticism, the editor rounded off the article by discussing Fighting Criticism and politics, no doubt having in mind the writer for whom art and politics did not mix. Stressing the fact that literary

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[30] Hsia, T.A., op.cit., 514.

critics could no more divorce themselves from the political circumstances of the time than any other citizen and that he might, in many cases, have more contact with the politician than the man in the street, the editor went on to say,

> The literary critic of today should not only take a common stand with the politician, but he should also take a common stand with all the citizens of the nation. Our stand is a stand against Communism and Russia. This is a political objective; but it should at the same time be a literary objective. In the political field we are in the process of heightening the strength of feeling of all our citizens everywhere against Communism and for national recovery. From the point of view of [literary] criticism, we ought even more to shoulder the responsibility of guiding the current of thought of the time; of stirring up in the whole nation a mighty tide which is anti-Communist in nature and which is bent on a return to the mainland.[31]

Nine other articles on various aspects of Fighting Literature by well-known critics, novelists and poets followed the above-quoted editorial. They were written with an eye to both the writer and the authorities. The writer that was causing most concern to the pro-Kuomintang lobby among writers was, of course, the uncommitted writer, the writer who was more concerned with "art for art's sake" than art for the sake of combat. One contributor, Ko Hsien-ning 葛賢寧,[32]

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[31] Wen-i yüeh-pao, (April, 1955), p.3.

[32] Ko Hsien-ning was born in Kiangsu in 1906. Before coming to Taiwan he published collections of poems entitled, Hai (The Sea), Huang ts'un (The Deserted Village) and a collection of poems and essays, Hei i fu-jen 黑衣婦人 (The Woman in Black). Since coming to Taiwan he has published several collections of poems. Other works include, Lun

poet and literary historian, made an appeal to his uncommitted colleagues by reminding them first of all that Fighting Literature, in the sense of literature being used as a "weapon" and for the maintenance of morale, was as old as mankind itself. Martial poetry, war songs and incantations which had inspired heroic deeds in the past were none other than the ancestors of the Fighting Literature that was being espoused. To remain aloof or to set out only to please oneself with regard to what one wrote and how one wrote was not only selfish but suicidal in the present world situation. In the name of democracy and for the preservation of democracy, urged Ko, his colleagues and others like him should join hands with the government and write for the benefit of everyone. To the writer who might excuse himself from taking part in the movement because he had no personal knowledge of "fighting" in its many aspects, Ko Hsien-ning wrote,

> If you have no experience of fighting, why not throw yourself into a life of fighting? If you have no ideas concerning fighting, no consciousness, sentiment or spirit of fighting, why don't you throw yourself into the fire of revolution and train your character through strict discipline? And if you have no confidence in your ability to write Fighting Literature, why don't you study with greater intensity and practise with greater diligence. This is not asking the impossible, it is a question of whether or not one should

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chan-tou ti wen-hsüeh 論戰鬥的文學 (On Fighting Literature); Chung-kuo shih shih 中國詩史 (History of Chinese Poetry) and Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo shih 中國小說史 (History of Chinese Fiction).

> leave the ivory tower and walk along the great road of democracy.[33]

Wang Chi-ts'ung, playwright, literary theorist and San Min Chu-i, apologist, expressed very similar views in the following lines,

> ... creative writing must seek its subject-matter realistically in the struggle of life; it must delve deeply into all kinds of people and all kinds of lives for the sake of observation and experience. This is not a matter for quiet meditation; it is a positive activity like going to the battlefront, to the armed forces, to the rural areas, the factories, the schools for your interviews. It means even going so far as to live the various kinds of life styles.[34]

There was a fair amount of repetition in these articles, but their tone varied from the strident to the thoughtful. Propaganda-laden statements like, "Fighting Literature is an antidote for the vast mass of people behind the frontlines,"[35] or "Our principal battlefield at present is going to be the development of psychological warfare against the Communist bandits ..."[36] are used again and again, thereby spoiling the argument that literature, whilst being combatant, should not descend to the level of being merely a catch-all of slogans and clichés.

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[33] Ko Hsien-ning, "Lun chan-tou wen-i ti k'ai-chan" 論戰鬥文藝的開展 (On the Development of Fighting Literature), in Wen-i yüeh-pao, (April, 1955), p.4.

[34] Wang Chi-ts'ung, "Tzen-yang chan-k'ai chan-tou wen-i yün-tung" 怎樣展開戰鬥文藝運動 (How to Develop the Fighting Literature Movement), in Wen-i yüeh-pao, (April, 1955), p.11.

[35] Ko Hsien-ning, op.cit., p.4.

All the arguments for a Fighting Literature were rounded off in a final article written by Wei Hsi-wen 魏希文,[37] novelist and member of both the China Association of Literature and Art and The Chinese Youth Writers' Association. According to Wei, Fighting Literature in its truest sense of the word is the kind of literature that is based on a well-thought-out philosophy of life; it is one which seems "to be faithful to the times, to life ..."; one which "excavates life more deeply and more broadly" and which "raises man's level of morality". It is one, he said, which "elevates the dignity of the personality and nurtures a deep feeling of patriotism."[38] Wei then looked into the history of European and American literature, as well as into his own, for examples of what he would class as Fighting Literature. As far as the Chinese scene was concerned, it was men like

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36 Chung Lei 鍾雷, "Tzen-yang t'ui-hsing chan-tou wen-i" 怎樣推行戰鬥文藝 (How to Promote Fighting Literature), in Wen-i yüeh-pao, (April, 1955), p.12.

37 Wei Hsi-wen was born in Hupei in 1911. He was editor and manager of various journals on the mainland. During the Sino-Japanese War Wei was involved in political and educational work among the armed forces. Wei Hsi-wen is a member of the National Assembly. Among his works are, Wo yung-yüan ts'un-tsai 我永遠存在 (I'll Live Forever), Ai hen chih chien 愛恨之間 (Between Love and Hate), and Shih nien 十年 (Ten Years).

38 Wei Hsi-wen, "Chan-tou wen-i ti hsieh-tso" 戰鬥文藝的寫作 (The Writing of Fighting Literature), in Wen-i yüeh-pao, (April, 1955), p.16.

Ch'ü Yüan 屈原[39] and Tu Fu 杜甫[40] who stood in the forefront of their times and whose love for their people produced great literature, suggested Wei. From the European and American scene, he chose Balzac, Goethe, Tolstoy, Daudet, Hemingway and Steinbeck as examples of writers of Fighting Literature in the West.[41]

More than any of the other contributors to that particular issue of Literature Monthly, Wei Hsi-wen looked for a common denominator - the fighting spirit - in the literature of other countries to illustrate more fully what was needed in literature in Taiwan at that point in time. It is possible that his reference to European and American writers was for the benefit of what Yü Kuang-chung calls "the writer from the institutes of higher learning" (hsüeh-fu tso-chia 學府作家)[42], that is, the writer who is a member of staff of the universities and of the foreign languages departments of those universities in particular, or the graduate, especially of National Taiwan University, who, having been exposed to the literature from the West, was now

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[39] Ch'ü Yüan, poet/statesman (343-277 B.C.). He was a minister of the State of Ch'u, but was deposed as a result of intrigues. He then wrote Li Sao 離騷 (Getting into Trouble), his most famous poem, in order to warn his sovereign, but his warning was not heeded. After making several vain protests, he abandoned the world and finally drowned himself in the River Mi Lo. His death is still commemorated during the Dragon Boat Festival on the 5th day of the 5th Moon.

[40] Tu Fu, (712-770), spent most of his life roaming the country. He held a succession of humble offices, although he did hold a few higher ones later in life.

in the process of perfecting his own writing skills. Either writer would know what literary qualities Wei was referring to. As we have already seen, there were those who were very much opposed to the continued influence of Western literature and who called for a literature which was more truly "Chinese".[43] But Wei Hsi-wen was not one of them, and he did not hesitate to choose his models from the literary arena of the world at large and to proceed to offer suggestions to the writer who desired to produce work of lasting value. Wei returned to the point, made earlier in his article, that the creative writer must first be grounded in a philosophy of life - ideally, in a Chinese context, in San Min Chu I - for the great writers of the world had brought to their writing "the wisdom of the philosopher; the philosopher's feeling of cosmic compassion, and the philosopher's clarity of vision which alone sees

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Tu Fu's poetry reflects his interest in the condition of his times.

41 Wei Hsi-wen lists Goethe's Faust, Daudet's The Last Lesson, and Steinbeck's The Moon Goes Down. (The latter, according to Western critics, is not considered to be among Steinbeck's best works of fiction.)

42 Yü Kuang-chung, Preface to Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsüeh ta-hsi 中國現代文學大系 (A Comprehensive Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature), 1950-1970, 4 vols., (Taipei, Chü-jen ch'u-pan she 巨人出版社), vol.1, p.7. Hereafter cited as WHTH.

43 see Mu Chung-nan, "Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo fa-chan ti yen-chiu" 中國小說發展的研究 (A Study of the Development of the Chinese Novel), in WT, No.4, (October, 1959), p.7.

through life."[44] As he saw it, literature in Taiwan would be immeasurably enriched if the creative writer there would, to the same degree as his foreign counterparts, immerse himself in "the ethics, the thought and philosophy inherent in the nation;"[45] and, discarding all superficial emotion and cheap sentimentality, reveal a love of humanity as exhibited, for example, in the works of Tolstoy.

Wei Hsi-wen then proceeded to give some very practical advice on character delineation, on description of background in a work of fiction, and on the handling of the language. With regard to the latter, he said that simplicity was of the essence in the choice of words. A plain, simple and forceful language was to be preferred to ornate embellishments which in the long run conveyed very little. "Finally," wrote Wei Hsi-wen, "it is imperative to write Fighting Literature for the common people. Popularization cannot harm the artistic beauty of a literary product; on the contrary, because of its popularization, it comes closer to the realities of life; and this reality is beauty."[46]

As mentioned earlier, these articles were addressed to two different kinds of readers: the writer and prospective writer and the men in "the corridors of

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[44] Wei Hsi-wen, op.cit., p.17.
[45] ibid.
[46] ibid.

power." What was sought from the latter was a better deal for the writer, an acknowledgement from the government and its agencies in deeds and not just in words of the writer's worth. T.A. Hsia says in the Appendix to C.T. Hsia's A History of Modern Chines Fiction,

" ... what surprises me, a nonparty member, is that their [the orthodox Kuomintang writers who have fought Communism on ideological grounds for several decades] services have never been much appreciated by the Kuomintang. The government and party authorities seldom do anything to increase the sales of their books, and their loyalty and diligence receive little encouragement or even recognition."[47] Although not put quite as bluntly as this, it is obvious that the various contributors to this series of articles were more than a little concerned lest the government should merely give the impression of supporting the literary movement while making no practical contribution whatsoever. The authorities were reminded that the call for a Fighting Literature had come from Chiang Kai-shek himself, and that therefore the responsibility for the success of the movement could not rest solely with the writer. For too long, these articles suggested, the serious writer had had to struggle against great odds - low pay, indifference, illness and poverty[48] - writing out of an inner conviction, while the makers of pulp

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[47] Hsia, T.A., op.cit., p.522.

[48] Writing about the literary scene almost ten years later, Lucy Chen cites the case of Chiang Kuei 姜貴

fiction flourished with the backing of the publishing houses and booksellers. This was a shameful state of affairs that had to be put right if writers were to heed the call for a Fighting Literature. They would have to be assured of material as well as moral support.

It is obvious from these articles that their authors had thought very carefully about the way the authorities could come to the assistance of "fighting writers".

Their first consideration was financial and their second was concerned with finding outlets for publishable material. Short stories, one writer suggested, should be printed in the government- and Kuomintang-controlled newspapers and journals, and "fighting novels" should be published by the government and Kuomintang publishing houses.[49] The idea was also put

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principally known for his novel, Hsüan-feng 旋風 (Whirlwind, recently translated into English by Timothy Ross) who was brought to court on the charge of criminal neglect when his sick wife starved to death. Only appeals from men of letters all over Taiwan saved him from imprisonment. See Chen, Lucy, op.cit., p.138.

49 The largest publishing house in Taiwan is the Cheng Chung Book Company 正中書局. It is a government agency which prints all publications of the Information Office, most of the textbooks for the Ministry of Education and various works produced by agencies of national government and other official departments. The Ministry of Education has three publishing agencies of its own: China Culture Publishing Foundation, The China Cultural Service and the National Institute for Compilation and Translation. Independently owned and operated, but semi-official because most of their

forward that the literary award system needed an overhaul. Instead of a proliferation of awards, the various awards should be amalgamated to form one really worthwhile prize. If this prize were given specifically for Fighting Literature, it would not only encourage writers to participate in the movement, but it would discourage trivial or unwholesome writing.[50]

Next, the government should seriously consider the setting up of an agency which would be responsible for the soliciting of contributions, the judging and correction of the material received, and their subsequent printing and distribution. The agency would be manned by specialists, some thirty to fifty writers, who would be selected on the basis of the literary merit of their own work; their personal wisdom, and whether they had a clean record vis à vis the Japanese and the Communists. Those appointed to this agency should be paid by government. In addition to their function as judge, editor and guide, they should go to the armed forces, to schools and universities, and to associations concerned

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income comes from government contracts are: Commercial Press, Chung Hua Book Company and World Book Company. See Chaffee, op.cit., pp.230-231.

50 According to Ko Hsien-ning there were at one time at least as many as half a dozen different literary awards presented by both Provincial Government departments as well as Central Government departments. In addition, the Ministry of National Defense had established its own literary award for writers serving in the armed forces. See Ko Hsien-ning, op.cit., p.6.

with literature and art, and initiate talks and lectures which would encourage discussions on, and an appreciation of, Fighting Literature. However, suggested those who proposed this scheme, the Fighting Literature Movement should not just be limited to the Taiwan scene. It was imperative that Chinese abroad should also become acquainted with what was happening in Taiwan. Consequently, the government should also think in terms of establishing agencies in certain legations abroad in order to promote Fighting Literature in a specific area. Tokyo or Hong Kong, for example, could serve the Far East. Paris could be the centre for Europe; and New York could be responsible for the North American continent.[51]

Further practical suggestions revolved around the various broadcasting stations and their programmes. Instead of the steady diet of readings from The Dream of the Red Chamber or other such "inappropriate"[52] material which was being transmitted over the air by some stations, it would be better, said one contributor, the

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51 See Sun Ling, "T'ui-hsing chan-tou wen-i chü-t'i fang-an ch'u-i" 推行戰鬥文藝具體方案芻議 (Some Personal Ideas on Concrete Measures for the Promotion of Fighting Literature), in Wen-i yüeh-pao, (April, 1955), pp. 8-9, and Ko Hsien-ning, op.cit., p.6.

52 Wang Lin-t'ai, "Chan-k'ai chan-tou wen-i yün-tung ti t'u-ching" 展開戰鬥文藝運動的途徑 (Opening up the Road for the Fighting Literature Movement), in Wen-i yüeh-pao, (April, 1955), p.16.

novelist, Wang Lin-t'ai 王臨泰,[53] to broadcast examples of fine Fighting Literature. In place of "rambling and dull"[54] lectures and talks, it would be more stimulating to have panels of writers discussing Fighting Literature. In this manner, the broadcasting stations could play a vital role in the furtherance of the Fighting Literature Movement.

The ideas put forward in the April issue of Literature Monthly were taken up by other writers and published in other major literary journals.[55] The plea for a government-sponsored "high command", so to speak, however, was treated by most with a certain amount of caution, for, as one writer put it, what was needed was assistance, not control.[56]

The discussions that ensued in the wake of these articles led to a summing up of the many and varied definitions of Fighting Literature put forward by

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[53] Wang Lin-t'ai was born in Kiangsu Province in 1917. He graduated from the Department of Political Science, National Ying-shih University. In the sixties he was Secretary in the Taiwan Provincial Department of Education. He has written both short stories and novels. In recent years, however, he has written little. Among his works are: a collection of short stories entitled, Fang-lin 芳鄰 (My Neighbour); the novels, Hsin teng 心燈 (The Lamp of the Heart), Huo lien 火戀 (Passionate Love) and Lung-tzu 龍子 (Dragon Seed).

[54] Wang Lin-t'ai, op.cit., p.16.

[55] e.g. Wen-i ch'uang-tso 文藝創作 (Literary Creation), the journal put out by the Chinese Literature and Art Award Committee; Chün-chung wen-i 軍中文藝 (Armed Forces' Literature and Art); Yu-shih wen-i and Wen T'an. The latter journal, being edited by one of the prime movers in the movement, carried numerous articles other than the ones referred to here.

those writers, critics and literary theorists who were in favour of the promotion of a Fighting Literature Movement. In a nutshell they were as follows:

1. Any literature which is educational, which is full of humanity, is capable of inducing patriotic thoughts and arousing the fighting spirit can be called Fighting Literature.

2. Fighting Literature is opposed to decadence and the wasting of time; it is opposed to conservatism, to nihilism, to the mechanical and to the aimless.

3. The contents of Fighting Literature must be filled with a fighting spirit, a unifying spirit, a positive spirit and a creative spirit. In short, any work which is capable of intensifying the fighting spirit and hardening the will to oppose Communism is Fighting Literature.

4. A literary creation must reflect life; it must portray life, direct life and disclose that which pertains to life. Consequently, a piece of creative literature must be positive in its striving to improve. It must be creative and fighting-spirited.

5. Fighting Literature must choose its material from reality. It must not be a product of the figment of one's imagination or of the unlived experience in a fantasy world.

6. Fighting Literature is different from War Literature. It allows for a far wider range of subjects. It matters not whether the subject matter is concerned with warfare, with farming or with the catching of fish, for example. What matters is that Fighting Literature has these special qualities: "fighting spirit" and "fighting consciousness."

7. All good literature is Fighting Literature because literature is in essence a fight: the fight between the true and the false; between good and evil, between beauty and ugliness; between human nature and animal nature. Consequently, Fighting Literature is not limited to its own time. It endures for ever.

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[56] See Sun Ling, op.cit., p.9.

8. Fighting Literature will portray ideal characters and models of loyalty, bravery, endurance and self-forgetfulness.

9. Fiction is a late-comer in the history of literature, yet it has the largest readership of all the genres. The Fighting Literature we require must be infinitely varied, taking all roads to their common goal. However, it would appear that fiction ought to be made the dominant genre. Every effort should be made therefore to ensure that it is not a mere empty form and that it has popular appeal.

10. The creation of the "fighting character" in a work of fiction can only take place when the path of struggle along which the protagonist has had to travel is understood. When the writer fully understands the character he is creating, only then can he apply his artistic skills and portray him in such a manner as to exhibit the perfection of his inner character.[57]

If there is any difference between these ten points and the draft plan drawn up by Mu Chung-nan it would lie in the direction of being less rigid in its definition of what constitutes Fighting Literature. Essentially, they were meant to act as guidelines for writers and critics alike in the years ahead.

Further Developments in the Fighting Literature Movement

If there was any one particular writers' association that could be said to have taken a more active part in the Fighting Literature Movement than the others, it would have to be the Chinese Youth Writers' Association. Part of its programme, since its inception, had been the institution of writers' workshops and courses on literature and the arts at the China Youth Corps'

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[57] See WINC, pp. 47-48.

summer training camps for young people.[58] Now it swung into action and immediately organized courses on the appreciation and execution of Fighting Literature. Special Fighting Literature and Art Brigades were formed from among those senior high school and college students who were attending the summer camps. Out of one thousand youngsters who applied to join, two hundred were selected. The Brigades were subsequently divided into smaller units according to the genre a particular group of young people was interested in.

The Fighting Literature and Art Brigades were held up as models of enthusiasm which the older, established writers could well be expected to emulate.[59]

It was not until the summer was over that the General Political Department organized a Fighting Literature Symposium in the Chung-shan Hall in Taipei to mark, publicly, the beginning of the government's involvement in the movement. The symposium took place on October 9, 1955, with one hundred or so writers present[60] and with Lieutenant-General T'ao Ti-ya 陶傑亞

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58 For further information on Training Camps, see any one China Yearbook from 1950 on, under "China Youth Corps".

59 See Ko Hsien-ning, "Wu nien lai ti chan-tou wen-i yün-tung" 五年來的戰鬥文藝運動 (The Fighting Literature Movement over the Last Five Years), in YSWI, Vol.10, No.3, (March, 1959), p.8.

60 It is difficult to judge whether the smallness of the number present was due to the fact that only certain, selected writers, closely associated with the government, were invited, or whether it represents a lack of interest on the part of the majority of writers. When one takes into consideration that the

officiating.[61]

In the following January the Central Committee of the Kuomintang passed a resolution at its annual general meeting pledging support for the new movement. Subsequently, the Propaganda Section of the Central Committee established a small Fighting Literature Steering Committee which gathered together every month in Taipei the editors of literary journals, newspaper supplements and representatives of the writers' associations in order to discuss how best to promote and develop Fighting Literature. The Propaganda Section subsequently arranged to meet those fiction writers and dramatists whose works were most imbued with "fighting spirit", and at the same time it lent some assistance to the publication and exhibition of Fighting Literature and to the booking of theatres for the performance of plays that put across the spirit of combat.[62]

Despite this move on the part of the Kuomintang to involve itself in literature and the arts, it nevertheless adopted a singular attitude towards the fate

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China Association of Literature and Art had at this time 678 members; that the Chinese Youth Writers' Association had 256 members, and that the Taiwan Women Writers Association had 200 members (see China Handbook, 1955-1956, pp.210 ff.), the number seems surprisingly small.

61 See WINC, p.134.

62 See Ko Hsien-ning, "Wu nien lai ti chan-tou wen-i yün-tung", p.8.

of the Chinese Literature and Art Award Committee. Established under the auspices of the Kuomintang, it had spared no effort to guide and encourage the growth of an anti-Communist literature since its inception in 1950. The Committee had also published a great amount of material relating to Fighting Literature and literary theory in its journal Wen-i ch'uang-tso 文藝創作 (Literary Creation) and had consequently contributed greatly to the dissemination of "fighting ideas", yet it was allowed to reach the stage where in 1956 it had to wind up its affairs and discontinue publishing its journal due to lack of funds.

In view of the fact that many writers had received their first encouragement to embark on a career of writing through the Chinese Literature and Art Award Committee it is not surprising that its forced closure, which could have been prevented through government grants, was seen by many as "a great loss to Free China's literature."[63]

The dissolution of the Chinese Literature and Art Award Committee seems to lend veracity to the criticism put forward a few years later when it was said that despite its expressed support for literature and the arts, the government lacked a "clear and definite"[64] literary policy.

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63 ibid., and WINC, p.38.

64 Ko Hsien-ning, "Wu nien lai ti chan-tou wen-i yün-tung," p.8.

The Mainland and the Writer in Taiwan

The Fighting Literature Movement in Taiwan ran parallel with one of the ideological remoulding campaigns and the Hu Feng Affair on the mainland.

Hu Feng 胡風 ,[65] it will be remembered, had been a close associate of Lu Hsün 魯迅 [66] in the 1930's. The Lu Hsün group had tried to maintain an independent non-doctrinaire attitude not only toward Marxism and literature, but also toward the Communist Party organization. Consequently, it had constantly drawn swords with Chou Yang 周揚 [67] who obediently followed the Comintern and party line. Despite many attempts, Hu Feng could not be stifled nor brought under party control until it came to power in 1949 when the attacks on him and his closest associates started in earnest. Hu Feng was not eliminated in the first round, however. There was a lull in the

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[65] Hu Feng, essayist, poet and literary critic, was born in I-tu, Hupeh, in 1903. He went to Nanking for his education in 1923. He subsequently studied at both Peking and Tsinghua Universities, after which he went to Japan. After a five-year stay in Japan he was expelled in 1933 for taking part in leftist demonstrations. On his return to China he worked in Shanghai as professional writer and editor. He also established a close relationship with Lu Hsün. Hu Feng spent much of his time protesting against political control of creative activity as he believed the artist was entitled to his own vision of truth. In a campaign for ideological purity led by Chou Yang in 1955, Hu Feng was singled out for attack. He was expelled from the Writers' Union and arrested on the charge that his activities were directed against the Communist Party and the Revolution. He has not been heard of since. For further biographical details, see, Klein/Clark, op.cit., vol.1, pp.377-379 and Goldman, op.cit., p.XIII.

battle after the conclusion of the Literary Rectification Campaign in 1952 during which Hu Feng rallied and wrote a report to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. In this report Hu Feng offered, among other things, his own views of socialist realism and made suggestions for the promotion of diversity and creativity in the cultural field. He also called for a greater degree of freedom for the writer to develop his individual talent within the Communist system. With this Hu Feng obviously

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66 Lu Hsün, 1881-1936, was a writer and social critic who had an enormous influence on Chinese students and writers. His finest stories rank as the most profound writing done in the early period of the Literary Revolution. In his essays he argued for the emancipation of women and against the traditional family system. He attacked the government for its censorship and its campaigns against the Communists. He became almost a legend in his lifetime. For further biographical details see BDRC, Vol.1, pp.416-424 (under Chou Shu-jen).

67 Chou Yang, literary critic and Communist ideologist, was born in I-yang, Hunan in 1908. He graduated from Ta-hsia University, Shanghai, in 1930, after which he went to Japan to further his studies. He returned to Shanghai in 1932 whereupon he became a member of the Communist Party and organizer for the Party's cultural activities in the League of Left-Wing Writers. From the early 1940's to 1966 he was the Communist Party's official spokesman and ideological watchdog in the literary and intellectual realm. Chou Yang believed that literature was first and foremost a political weapon and that the writer should create with this aim in view. Chou Yang was purged during the Cultural Revolution, but was rehabilitated after the fall of "the gang of four" in 1976. For further biographical details, see, Klein, Donald W./Clark, Anne B., Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Communism, 1921-1965. 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press, 1971), vol.1, pp.234-239.

overstepped the line, and it was only a matter of time before the attacks on him were renewed. He had either to be brought into line once and for all or be so thoroughly discredited that his downfall would act as a deterrent to anyone else harbouring similar sentiments. The Chinese Writers' Union chose the latter course as a means of "liqidat[ing] all Hu Feng elements throughout the country."[68]

The mainland writers now based on Taiwan may not have had much sympathy for Hu Feng whilst they themselves were on the mainland, but now they exhibited a marked curiosity regarding his fate. Information regarding the progress of events was supplied by those of the writers' associations whose function it was to monitor everything that happened in the realm of literature and art on the mainland. In addition to the discussions on Fighting Literature, therefore, there was, from June 2, 1955 on, a considerable amount of activity in literary circles in Taiwan concerned with Hu Feng. In order to make an assessment of the "Hu Feng Affair", The China Association of Literature and Art issued reports to all writer-members on the course events were taking on the mainland. Writers then turned out special studies on the Hu Feng case which were distributed to major news publications both at home and abroad. Between June and September, 1955,

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[68] Goldman, Merle, Literary Dissent in Communist China, (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1967), p.150.

the association had scores of group discussions and meetings in order to evaluate the effects of the Hu Feng affair. On August 8, for example, a symposium, attended by both writers and members of the cultural world, was called to discuss "An Appraisal of the Hu Feng Affair". The conclusions reached at the end of the symposium were that "the Communist Party's 'Purge of Hu Feng' proved that the great majority of literary men in the Communist area were dissatisfied with the Red tyranny, and that there was, moreover, neither any freedom to create nor freedom to think."[69] and "The Hu Feng Affair demonstrated the cruelty of the Communist Party's method of ousting and persecuting writers."[70] The participants to this symposium urged their colleagues on the mainland to wake up to their situation as soon as possible so as to put a stop to their being "used, enslaved and illtreated"[71] by the Communist Party. Naturally, none of this made the slightest difference to the course of events on the mainland, but at least the writer in Taiwan had registered his protest and made his feelings known to the rest of the world. There was little else he could do except to continue to have his verbal support beamed to the mainland via Taiwan's broadcasting stations and to have his literary publications which pledged support

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69 WINC, p.154.

70 ibid.

71 ibid.

for all "anti-Communist, anti-tyranny movements" air-dropped on the mainland.[72]

The plight of the writer on the mainland was to occupy the attention of the writer in Taiwan for a long time to come, for he was kept informed by the various writers' associations as well as by the Central Committee of the Kuomintang of each rectification movement which took place.[73]

Hungary and Taiwan

The Hungarian uprising in 1956 acted as a very strong, but short-lived, morale booster to the writers involved in the Fighting Literature Movement. In the nationalistic songs sung by the defiant Hungarians, the writers saw something of the spirit they were trying to inject into their literature - a spirit which would overcome Communism and rebuild a new China. However, the turn of events in Hungary changed their elation to dismay. They had been sure the Western democratic countries would come to Hungary's aid. Their failure to do so and seeming "coldbloodedness" and "lack of feeling"[74] caused a wave of disillusionment to sweep over the writers of Taiwan. The incident did, however, strengthen their resolve never to let their own countrymen on the mainland down in a similar manner.

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[72] ibid, p.155.
[73] ibid.

Chiang Kai-shek, Soviet Russia in China

If Chiang Kai-shek's Two Supplementary Chapters had been "required" reading for the members of the various writers' associations in 1953, so too was his publication Su E tsai Chung-kuo 蘇俄在中國 (Soviet Russia in China)[75] which came off the press in December, 1956. Considering the turn of events in Hungary, it came at the psychologically right moment as a powerful argument in favour of vigilance and the need to understand how the "enemy" operated.

Divided into three parts, the book deals with, 1. "Peaceful Coexistence" between China and Russia. 2. Successes and Failures of World Struggle Against Communism, and 3. Primary Objectives of Communist "Peaceful Coexistence" and its Final Concept.

In part one Chiang traces the course of Chinese history from 1911 to 1949 and tries to show how, first, Sun Yat-sen, and then he himself, as Sun's successor, were thwarted in their efforts to implement The Three Principles of the People by the intrigues and interference of Russia via the Chinese Communist Party. To support his claims Chiang gives a year by year account listing events, names and places which show how Russia used the Chinese Communists to wreck his programme for

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[74] Ko Hsien-ning, "Chin hou Chung-kuo wen-i fa-chan ti yü-ts'e" 今後中國文藝發展的預測 (Predictions on the Future Development of Chinese Literature), in YSWI, Vol.5, No.6, (January, 1957), p.13.

[75] The summary given below is based on the English version.

the unification and modernization of China, and how Russia used the Sino-Japanese War for its own ends. He then goes on to describe how the Communists sabotaged post-war reconstruction and how "rumour-mongering" and "smear-campaigns" by fellow-travellers at home and by Communist-sympathizers abroad alienated American opinion and destroyed American goodwill towards his government, thereby depriving China of much-needed aid at a critical time in its history.[76]

In part two Chiang discusses the error in his own policy and strategy vis à vis the Communists. If he was to blame for the way China had slipped behind the Iron Curtain, it was because his organization had not been sufficiently "infiltration proof"[77] nor its vigilance heightened enough. Secondly, it had lacked "initiative and ideological substance"[78] in its propaganda; and thirdly, it had failed to fortify itself and "take drastic action against Communism."[79] If he, Chiang, had erred, it had been on the side of generosity towards those whom he had thought were Chinese first and Communist second. His opponents, in fact, had proved that they were Communists "first,

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76 Chiang Kai-shek, Soviet Russia in China. A Summing-up at Seventy, (Taipei, China Publishing Co., photo-offset reprint, 1969), p.203,237.

77 ibid., p.223,

78 ibid., p.225.

79 ibid., p.229.

last and always"[80] and were therefore bound to act on instructions from Soviet Russia. "We failed to steel ourselves for ruthless action because we could not bring ourselves to recognize to the full the brutal nature and violence of the Communists."[81]

In part three Chiang reviews the policy changes which took place in Russia from the time of Lenin to Khrushchev and asserts that these changes have lulled the free world into a false sense of security. "Peaceful Coexistence" as it is now enunciated is a contradiction in terms because it is "merely a one-sided proposition"[82] which gives the Communists the respite they need "to prepare for the final showdown,"[83] he says. It is nothing but "war-in-the guise-of-peace ... as stage managed by Moscow," he continues, and "we have paid the price of the Free World's naivete ..."[84] "It is utterly incredible", writes Chiang, "that after so many Asian nations have been forcibly partitioned there are still people who think that "peaceful coexistence" with Russia is compatible with their own security."[85] If there is a lesson to be learned from the Chinese experience, he suggests

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80 ibid., p.223.
81 ibid., p.179.
82 ibid., p.9.
83 ibid., p.362.
84 ibid., pp.161,163.
85 ibid., p.366.

it is this: that Communists should never be taken at their face value and that "neutralism" on the part of the free world "is as risky as to give direct assistance to Communism."[86]

The purpose of Soviet Russia in China was "to alert the unsuspecting peoples still outside the Iron Curtain."[87] If there were any positive steps to be taken to avert further encroachment on the part of the Communist bloc, these would have to be by way of the democracies giving "the anti-Communist Asian nations such moral as well as material assistance as may be required to enable them to take the initiative and pierce the Iron Curtain with national revolutionary wars, or to be ready to respond with resolute action any time and anywhere to anti-Communist movements behind the Iron Curtain in order to liberate their kith and kin now enslaved under Communist tyranny, to effect national reunification, and to restore territorial integrity."[88]

A national revolutionary war could not be fought in the military arena alone; such a war involved political and psychological warfare as well, as Chiang had learnt to his cost. It was therefore imperative to have an informed public which was so aware of the

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86 ibid., p.362.
87 ibid., p.9.
88 ibid., p.366.

issues involved that past mistakes would not be repeated and about which it could never be said that, "They knew little about the significance of either the National Revolution or Communism. They could not differentiate right from wrong, good from evil."[89] Writers, says Chiang, whose duty it was to be well-informed, had therefore an enormous part to play inunmasking Communism and presenting the general public with the only possible alternative - The Three Principles of the People - in as clear and as readable a form as possible.

So that no writer could plead ignorance, The China Association of Literature and Art and later, in 1958, the Taiwan Women Writers' Association "activated"[90] their members into studying Soviet Russia in China and publishing their own thoughts on the subject in the daily newspapers.

The Fighting Literature Movement. Success or Failure?

There has been a tendency on the part of some writers in Taiwan to give the impression that the Fighting Literature Movement was an unqualified success and that most literary men rallied under its banner.[91]

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89 ibid., p.165.

90 WINC, p.125.

91 e.g. Mu Chung-nan, "T'ai-wan tso-chia chi tso-p'in" 臺灣作家及作品 (Taiwan Writers and Their Works) in WT, 105, (March, 1969), p.8, and Ch'en Chi-ying, Talk given at First Literary Session, Part B, June 16, 1970, and published in Proceedings of the Third Asian Writers' Conference, Chinese Center, International P.E.N., although in the case

The reality was, in fact, somewhat different, for writing in 1956 after the movement had been in operation for a year, a certain Chang Chieh 張傑 asked in an article in Young Lions' Literature how literature could have deteriorated to the degree it had. People abroad, he claimed, were saying that it had reached an all time low, and people at home, too, felt this to be true. The Chinese Literature and Art Award Committee had ceased to function, he complained, as had their publication Literary Creation. Literature Forum had also been obliged to cease publication. The call for Fighting Literature had gone out, and meetings, large and small, had been held in connection with it, yet the results were negligible. Why, asked Chang Chieh, had this been so? Three reasons that came to mind were: that government support was too "perfunctory"; that "yellow" reading matter was still prevalent, and that men of commerce were not discriminating enough with regard to works they printed. Having said this, however, Chang Chieh felt that the greater burden of responsibility had to be carried by the writers themselves. What was lacking was literature of quality. The term "eight-legged" had so far been applied to anti-Communist literature, but Chang Chieh was not so sure that the term could not also be applied to most other writing as well. No amount of government help and no mere

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of the latter, he does suggest that there were aspects of the literary scene which gave grounds for concern.

change of attitude on the part of publishers would "save" literature. Only the writers themselves could do so by not standing on their dignity and refusing to acknowledge that adverse criticism of their works was sometimes justified. In other words, they had to be willing to learn and to accept criticism. If the public appeared indifferent, the writer should ask himself whether what he wrote was worth reading. After all, in a democratic country one could not "entreat the government to pass a law which would sentence those who did not read literature to a year's imprisonment."[92] Creative literature should stand or fall on its own merit. No amount of self-pity or sleepless nights would produce good literature, he said.

Reviewing the literary scene a year later, the editorial of the January, 1958, issue of Young Lions' Literature complained that it was "sluggish".[93] It pointed to the fact that there had been a reduction in the number of literary publications; that it remained difficult for works of creative literature to find a publisher, and that the activities of the writers'

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92 Chang Chieh, "Wen-i wei shenme hui chin-ju ti-ch'ao" 文藝為什麼會進入低潮 (Why Has Literature Reached Such a Low Ebb?), in YSWI, Vol.5, No.6, (January, 1957), p.3.

93 Huang Fu-chien, 皇甫劍 , "Wen t'an ti ch'u chiu pu hsin" 文壇的除舊佈新 (On the Replacement of the Old with the New in the Literary Forum), in YSWI, Vol.8, No.1, (January, 1958), p.3.

associations had slowed down. But instead of singling out the writer as being the chief cause of his own misfortune, as had Chang Chieh a year earlier, the editorial traced the responsibility for this state of affairs to four different sources.

First, virtually no writer could live by his pen. Writing was very much a secondary occupation so that the energy which ought to be directed towards creative writing had to be directed elsewhere. Secondly, when a writer finally succeeded, against all odds, in producing a piece of creative writing, he usually found that few publishers were willing to take a gamble on "an original, lively, abundantly vital"[94] work of art, preferring instead to play safe by publishing literature which they knew they could sell. Consequently, tales of passion, crime, myths and legends dominated the literary scene.[95] Even a reprint of T'ang and Sung poems or stories from the Ming period were considered a safer bet than an unknown work of recent

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94 ibid.

95 Publishers were not altogether to blame for this, for as a short entry in Wen T'an some nineteen years later points out, the reading-public in Taiwan consists largely of "factory workers, barbers, beauticians, tailors, shop-assistants, housewives, and, last of all, students". What the major portion of this readership wants, says the article, is to read about "love, the agonies of love lost, dashed hopes, tales of the uncanny etc." How could a publisher, therefore, hope to "sell" a piece of creative writing that was well above the standard of the above-mentioned reading matter, asked the article. See WT, No.199, (January, 1977), p.5.

vintage. Thirdly, newspaper supplements (which had helped in the revivial of serious writing after 1949)[96] had recently tended to publish a more sensational type of material. The writer who wished to see his work in print could therefore not resist the temptation to "sensationalize",[97] a practice which immediately devalued his work. Finally, but by no means of least importance, although there were state-supported and state-controlled organizations which existed specifically to aid trade and industry in the private sector, and although there were even state-owned publishing agencies, no concrete assistance had yet been given to the movement for the promotion of the kind of literature the state insisted it wanted to encourage, nor to those journals that had had to cease publication for lack of funds. The publishing agencies that did exist, the editorial maintained, had been established by writers themselves, and the assistance they had received had come from other writers.[98] Until publishers ceased to be

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96 Two examples are the supplements of Chung-yang jih-pao and Hsin sheng pao, see Mu Chung-nan "Man-t'an tzu-yu Chung-kuo shih nien lai ti wen-i", WT, No.7, (July, 1960), p.10.

97 Huang Fu-chien, op.cit., p.3.

98 The editorial may be right about the lack of concrete assistance given to the Fighting Literature Movement as such. However, one agency which did in fact give assistance to writers by publishing their works was the Kuomintang publishing agency, the Central Suppliers of Cultural Products. In 1954 Ch'en Chi-ying's collection of essays Meng chen chi 夢真記 (Dreams Come True) and Liu Hsin-huang's 劉心皇's collection of short stories, Tsai feng-huo li 在烽火裡(In the Beacon Fire), for example, were

dominated by the profit motive; until the writer had learnt to resist the pressure to commercialize his work; and until cultural and educational agencies implemented those policies for which they had been established, so long would it be before there was a flourishing of the arts.

That the literary scene was still giving cause for concern a year later to those who wanted to see the guidelines laid down at the beginning of the Fighting Literature Movement upheld was evidenced by the annual review in Young Lions' Literature.[99] Added now to the list of undesirable literature complained of by the editorial of 1958 was Tales of Chivalry and Swordsmanship - wu hsia hsiao-shuo 武俠小說 Always popular as easy and exciting reading, this type of literature was being made readily available on the cheap by being serialized in newspapers, both private and government-owned.[100] The Young Lions' Literature

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published by this agency, as were Wang P'ing-ling's 王平陵 collection of short stories Huo chih 火種 (Embers) and Shui Shu-wen's 水東文 novel Huan hsiang ch'ü 還鄉曲 (The Home-coming Song). See above mentioned works and editor's note "Tzu-yu Chung-kuo wen-t'an tung-t'ai 自由中國文壇動態 (Developments in Free China's Literary Forum", in YSWI, Vol.2, No.34, 1955, p.35 and YSWI, Vol.2, No.35, 1955, p.34.

99 See Li P'ing-yü 李平御 "I nien lai wen-i-chieh ti feng-ch'i" 一年來文藝界的風氣 (The Climate of the World of Literature During the Past Year), in YSWI, Vol.11, No.3, (December, 1959), p.3ff.

100 Because demand exceeded supply, some publishing companies resorted to the practice of pirating those "wu-hsia hsiao-shuo" that were being serialized

had during the course of the year been severely critical of this state of affairs. It was reprehensible, it had pointed out, that a newspaper "which was a tool for social education"[101] should try to attract more readers or try to hold on to those it already had by including a daily dose of such tales. It was bad enough that privately owned papers should descend to such tactics, but for government papers to do so was inexcusable. If a newspaper's sole preoccupation was to increase its circulation, then a very "dangerous" state of affairs existed. These stories, the review maintained, had very much the same effect on young people as American "Westerns" had on American youth. They encouraged violence and other anti-social activities among the young.[102]

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in the Communist newspapers on sale on the news-stands in Hong Kong. This was accomplished by certain individuals in Hong Kong who cut out the relevant columns from these papers and then sent them on to Taiwan. A publishing company would then paste the various instalments together, photograph the pages, and subsequently publish them in book form. Though the stories made no obvious reference to Mao Tze-tung and Chu Te, nevertheless, the use of such titles as "The Peasants' Hero", "The People's General", and "The People's Saviour" eventually began to arouse suspicion and the matter was investigated. Finally, in 1961, a ban was placed on this particular kind of "wu-hsia hsiao-shuo". It was estimated that at least one million copies had been put into circulation. See Wang Lan, "Hsiao-shuo ti ch'ü-wei-hsing yü chiao-yü-hsing" 小說的趣味性與教育性 (Fiction in Its Role as Entertainer and Educator), in WT, No.31, (January, 1963).

101 Li P'ing-yü, op.cit., p.3.

Another trend which gave rise for concern was the modernization of poetry. The writer of the review appreciated the fact that poets were seeking to be liberated from the restrictions of traditional forms, but, he maintained, in their search for the new, their poetry was becoming unintelligible to the general public. "Popularization" or the creation of a literature that could be understood by everyone, not just the educated or the initiated, was on the agenda of most literary seminars and discussion groups. However, it had become patently obvious that "popularization" was "a topic poets neither wanted to listen to nor discuss."[103] The result was, in the opinion of the reviewer, that only those in the know could appreciate the poetry which was being written. Instead of advancing, therefore, poetry had returned to that stage in the past when it was the "petty amusement" of the minority, the select few.

A Change of Direction

The Fighting Literature Movement was mooted at the beginning of 1955 and officially initiated in the autumn

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102 Not all writers agreed with this judgement. Wang Lan, for example, having read quite a few wu-hsia hsiao-shuo when young, saw little harm in the general public indulging in, what he considered to be, a mild form of escapism. He made the point, however, that he was not referring to the Communist-inspired variety, the ban on which he supported. ibid.

103 Li P'ing-yü, op.cit., p.3.

of the same year. In later years it was hailed as a great success by some and as a modest success by others. Some saw it as "the mainstream in the literature of Free China"[104] which would continue well into the future, while others observed that after the initial impact had worn off many writers began slowly to "change course"[105] and to launch out in new directions. An explanation offered by one of the editors of Chung-kuo wen-i nien-chien, Hu Hsiao 呼嘯, for this change of direction was that having "read too much Fighting Literature",[106] the reader wanted something different. Consequently, some publishers and writers tried to "cater to the mentality of the reader"[107] with the result that there began to appear on the market everywhere an increased number of tales of swordsmen (wu-hsia hsiao-shuo), historical romances, stories of irregular love (chi-lien hsiao-shuo 畸戀小說 and New Wave fiction (hsin-ch'ao p'ai hsiao-shuo 新潮派小說,[108] although the latter was more a feature of the early sixties than of the middle to late fifties.

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104 WIS, p.86.

105 WINC, p.52.

106 ibid.

107 ibid.

108 ibid. See also Ch'en Chi-ying, "Lun chin-tai wen-i ch'ü-shih" 論近代文藝趨勢 (On Current Trends in Literature), in Chung-yang jih-pao, May 4, 1961. Although, strictly speaking, "New Wave" was a term used to describe the films produced by the French during this period e.g. Francois Truffaut, Eric Rohmer, Claude Chabral, etc., in Taiwan it came to mean anything, in the arts,

Yet another explanation given was that with Taiwan's economic progress and the rising standard of living, people were in a happier frame of mind and did not feel the need to be constantly reminded of the Communists and their machinations. In fact, they were coming around to the idea that the best way to defeat Communism was by working for a more prosperous and free society in which "humanity" was the dominating force.[109]

If the preoccupations of the reading public had changed, so too had the interests of an ever-growing number of writers whose overriding concern was not so much with the need to cater to the mentality of the general public or to produce anti-Communist, patriotic, San min chu-i inspired literature as with the need to produce "pure literature" (ch'un-ts'ui wen-hsüeh 純粹文學).

In the early fifties two journals published in Hong Kong, the bi-monthly, Ta-hsüeh sheng-huo 大學生活 (University Life), and the monthly, Wen-i hsin-ch'ao 文藝新潮 (New Trends in Literature and Art), began to circulate in Taiwan. Although their circulation was limited, there was not a single young intellectual interested in the current literary scene in the world at large who did not know about them and their contents. These two publications were to have

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that was different in style and technique or which was more sexually outspoken than in the past.

109 See WIS, p.89.

an immense influence and were to create a demand for a journal of a similar type to be produced in Taiwan. As a consequence, the literary periodical, Wen-hsüeh tsa-chih 文學雜誌 (Literary Review), devoted to literary criticism, literary theories, translations from other languages, essays on Chinese and Western literature as well as poems and short stories from local writers came into being in 1956 with Professor Hsia Tsi-an 夏濟安 [110] of National Taiwan University as its editor-in-chief.[111] Hailed abroad as the journal which exhibited "the first signs of the intellectual awakening among the exiled Chinese on

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[110] Hsia Tsi-an was born in Kiangsu in 1916. After attending middle school in Soochow he went to Nanking to further his studies, but had to discontinue his studies because of ill health. While recuperating in Shanghai he entered, in 1937, the English Department of Kuanghua University. He graduated three years later and joined the staff of the university. He then taught at the National United Southwestern University in the interior. From 1946 to 1948 he taught in the Foreign Languages Department at Peking University. He left for Hong Kong in 1949 and joined the staff of the newly-established New Asia College. He went to Taiwan in 1950 and was first instructor, then lecturer and finally professor in the Foreign Languages Institute of National Taiwan University. He spent the spring semester, 1953, in the English Department of the University of Indiana. He returned to the United States in 1959 and taught and carried out research work in the University of Washington and the University of California until his sudden death in 1965. An early analysis by T.A. Hsia of the literary scene in Taiwan appears in his younger brother, C.T. Hsia's, A History of Modern Chinese Fiction. Collections of his essays have been published in Taiwan.

[111] ibid., p.87-90.

Taiwan,"[112] it contributed most, so it has been suggested, to the development and modernization of creative writing in Taiwan during its short life-span (1956-1960).[113] Literary Review was one of the first periodicals to have "no overpowering concern with political propaganda."[114] It rejected the escapist tendencies to be found in much of the literature of the day and advocated honest realism; it tried to encourage a healthy climate of criticism and to foster new talent. (A whole generation of young writers did in fact emerge under the guidance of Literary Review.)[115]

Although most evidence suggests that there was a natural swing away from Fighting Literature, by the time this journal began to have its greatest impact, the Chung-hua min-kuo wen-i shih 中華民國文藝史 (History of the Literature and Art of Republican China)

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112 Lau, Joseph, S.M. "How Much Truth Can a Blade of Grass Carry? Ch'en Ying-chen and the Emergence of Native Taiwanese Writers" in Journal of Asian Studies. Vol.XXXII, No.4, (August, 1973), p.624.

113 See Chen, Lucy, op.cit., p.136 and ACCL, Introduction to Short Stories, p.2. As with other literary journals referred to in the text, Wen-hsüeh tsa-chih had to cease publication because of financial difficulties. See Lau, op.cit., p.625.

114 Chen, Lucy, op.cit., p.136.

115 Examples are: Pai Hsien-yung 白先勇, Wang Wen-hsing 王文興 and Ou-yang Tzu 歐陽子, among others. See ACCL, Introduction to Short Stories, p.2.

lays the responsibility for this change of direction on the Literary Review. The shift from Fighting Literature to Pure Literature took place, says Wen-i shih, because the periodical laid greater emphasis on literary values than on "combat effectiveness."[116]

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[116] WIS, p.88.

CHAPTER FIVE

Does Modernization mean Westernization?

"... each age demands literary works which exhibit the unique spirit of that age."[1]
Wang I-tu

"It is my belief that, when two cultures meet, thoughtless imitation will gradually mature into judicious adoption."[2]
Yü Kuang-chung

We saw in the last chapter that the two major questions being debated in the world of literature in the early fifties were the questions of literature fulfilling its national and social duties on the one hand and the problem of the modernization of literature on the other. We saw too that the Fighting Literature Movement was initiated largely in order to remind writers of their role in society and of their duty to create anti-Communist, patriotic literature of a high artistic standard. But we saw also that the percentage of writers actively involved in the Movement was comparatively small. It might have been possible to generate more enthusiasm for the Fighting Literature Movement if China had continued to threaten to invade Taiwan; but once the Defence Treaty was signed with the United States, protecting Taiwan from any onslaught from the mainland, and once the economy began to improve, with American aid, the future began to

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[1] Wang I-tu 汪亦度 "Wen-hsüeh ch'uang-tso yü shih-tai" 文學創作與時代 (Writing and the Age), in YSWI, Vol.19, No.3, (September, 1963), p.17.

look more optimistic. As a consequence, an ever-growing number of writers turned their attention to the production of "pure literature" and to its modernization. Although all genres were affected, it was in the field of poetry that some of the fiercest controversies arose.

Poetry

Traditional Chinese poetry, with its rigid rules of versification, metre, and diction, was very much alive in Taiwan, for its practitioners saw in it a means of affirming one's identity in a changing world and of conveying a sense of continuity with one's literary past. Consequently, poetry societies abounded, and the annual Poets' Day, which commemorates the death of the ill-fated poet-statesman, Ch'ü Yüan, would bring together several hundred practitioners of the art.[3] The art they practised was largely imitative. Originality came from the writers of modern poetry.

Among the writers that had come over from the mainland were three poets, in their thirties, Chi Hsien 紀弦,[4]

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[2] Yü Kuang-chung, "American Influence on Post-war Chinese Poetry in Taiwan" in Tamkang Review, Vol.V, No.1, (April, 1974), p.7.

[3] See Wu, Lucien, ed., Introduction, New Chinese Writing, (Taipei, Heritage Press, 1962), p.VI.

[4] Chi Hsien (or Chi Hsüan) was born in Shanghai in 1913. After graduating from Soochow College of Fine Arts, he went to Japan where he developed his interest in literature and began to write poetry. His first collection of poetry, Hsing-kuo chih sheng-ming 行過之生命 (Life Passed) was published in 1935 under the pen-name Lu I-shih 路易士. At the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, Chi Hsien returned to China and

Ch'in Tzu-hao 覃子豪,[5] and Chung Ting-wen 鍾鼎文,[6] who had acquired literary reputations as exponents of the "new poetry" pioneered by Hu Shih in 1920. Strictly speaking, the idea of a new poetry - verse-writing in plain speech - had originated with the political reformers of 1898, many of whom were young poets.[7]

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worked as assistant editor and editor of various newspapers. He left for Taiwan in the winter of 1948 and took a teaching position at Ch'engkung Middle School in Taipei, a position he held until he retired in 1973. In 1952 Chi Hsien launched the journal, Hsien-tai shih 現代詩 (Modern Poetry Quarterly) in which he set out to encourage aspiring poets. In 1956 the Modernist School was established under his leadership. He advocated free verse with speech cadences, and simple, clear diction, and he experimented with various Western techniques. Among his works are, Tsai fei-yang ti shih-tai 在飛揚的時代 (In an Age of Suspension), 1951; Che hsing ti shao-nien 摘星的少年 (The Youth who Plucked Stars), 1954; Wu jen tao 無人島 (Uninhabited Island), 1956; Pin-lang shu 檳榔樹 (The Betel-nut Tree), 1965, and several collections of essays on the theory of poetry. Eleven of his poems, translated into English, are to be found in ACCL, and ten are to be found in Palandri, op.cit.

5 Ch'in Tzu-hao was born in Szechuan in 1911. He received his secondary and tertiary education in Nanking and Peking after which he went to Japan and entered Chuo University in Tokyo. After graduating from that University in 1938 he returned to China and took charge of the section of the Board of Political Training, National Military Council, concerned with the army paper, Sao-tang, 掃蕩 (The Broom); (see The China Year Book 1937-1943, p.699). He also became a member of the planning committee of the Political Department of the 3rd War Area (Southern Kiangsu and Chekiang). In 1944 he served in the field of journalism in Fukien Province. Ch'in Tzu-hao came to Taiwan in 1947, occupying first a position on the Committee for the Regulation of Supplies and subsequently in the Provincial Food Bureau. In 1951 he became co-editor with Ko Hsien-ning of the New Poetry Weekly. In 1954 he was one of the founding members of the Blue Star Society and, simultaneously, became the chief editor of the society's journal. He held a lectureship in new poetry in the China Correspondence School for Literature and Art and was on the board of directors

However, no concrete plan for a poetry revolution materialized. It took a Hu Shih to launch a literary revolution which was to affect all genres. Though his own efforts in the field of poetry, a pioneer volume of pai-hua verse entitled Ch'ang-shihchi嘗試集 (Experiments),

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of the China Association of Literature and Art; the Chinese Youth Writers' Association, and the Chinese Poets' Assembly. In 1962 he was invited to attend a conference on literature held in Manila. He died the following year of cancer. Though he leaned heavily in the direction of the French symbolists in his own poetry, his symbols were never obscure. Among his works are, Tzu-yu ti ch'i 自由的旗 (The Banner of Freedom); Hai-yang shih ch'ao 海洋詩抄(Poems of the Ocean), 1952; Hsiang jih k'uei 向日葵 (The Sunflower), 1955; Hua-lang 畫廊 (The Art Gallery), 1962; Lun hsien-tai shih 論現代詩 (On Modern Poetry), 1955; Shih ti chieh-p'ou 詩的解剖(Anatomy of Poetry), 1958; Shih ti ch'uang-tso yü hsin-shang 詩的創作與欣賞 (On the Creation and Appreciation of Poetry). He also made a number of translations of nineteenth and twentieth century French poetry. Four of his poems, translated into English, are to be found in ACCL, and twelve are to be found in Palandri, op.cit.

6 Chung Ting-wen was born in the province of Anhui in 1915. After graduating from the famous Chinese Public Institute, Shanghai (see Chow Tse-tsung, op. cit., pp. 33-34), he went to Japan for further studies at the Tokyo Imperial University. During his absence from China, his father, a landowner, was killed by the Communists. He consequently broke off his studies and returned home. He became a member of the Kuomintang and held many important government positions. He even rose to the rank of Major General in the army during the war. After arriving in Taiwan he became editorial writer of United News and editor-in-chief of Independent Evening News. He is a member of the National Assembly. His more recent political verses have won him the position of "unofficial poet laureate of the Republic of China". Among his works are Hsing-yin-che 行吟者 (The Minstrel), 1951; Shan ho shih ch'ao 山河詩抄(Mountains and Rivers), 1956; and Pai-se ti hua-tuo 白色的花朵 (The White Bouquet), 1957. Eleven of his poems, in English, are to be found in Palandri, op.cit.

7 e.g. Huang Tsun-hsien 黃遵憲 (1848-1905) who, after becoming a chü-jen in 1876, held various important

and published in 1920, was not considered a success,[8] he nevertheless was instrumental in stimulating others with greater talents than his own to start writing poetry in the modern idiom.

One of the major differences between the late Ch'ing modernizers of poetry and Hu Shih and his contemporaries was that the late Ch'ing poets sought their inspiration in their own cultural heritage and modelled themselves on other poetry reformers of earlier dynasties.[9] The modern poets, on the other hand, modelled themselves on poets in the West. This was particularly true of those who had been educated in Europe or the United States or whose period of residence in Japan had brought them into contact with translated versions of Western poetry. Students returning to China from England or the United States sought their inspiration from and wrote in imitation of English and American poets, whilst those who had studied in France were influenced largely by the

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positions in legations overseas, notably Tokyo, San Francisco and London. His poems about Japan were printed by the Tsungli Yamen. He also wrote a history of Japan in forty chüan. He instituted many reforms, published a newspaper and established schools. Although he used traditional forms when writing poetry, he nevertheless succeeded in writing with a freer and richer movement. For further biographical details see Hummel, Arthur W., Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912), 2 vols., Vol.1, pp.350-351 and WIS, pp. 128-130.

8 See Hsia, op.cit., p.9.

9 See WIS, pp. 128-129.

French symbolists. Much experimentation took place, some of which was fairly successful, and some of which was less so. The period between 1920 and 1937 saw the rise of such poets as Hsü Chih-mo 徐志摩,[10] Kuo Mo-jo 郭沫若,[11] and Wen I-to 聞一多,[12]

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[10] Hsü Chih-mo, (1896-1931), poet, essayist and translator. Whilst studying economics in Cambridge he became a lover of English Romantic Poetry and this determined his own literary inclinations. Upon his return to China he lectured on English literature in Peking. He also travelled through China with R. Tagore as his interpreter. In 1928 he launched, with Hu Shih and Liang Shih-ch'iu, the Crescent Moon Society. Besides editing the Society's Crescent Monthly, he also edited a supplement to the Morning News. Hsü Chih-mo was an individualist and a champion of freedom of all human activities. He held that the purpose of life was to be found in perfect love and beauty. His contemporaries regarded him as the first fully successful modern poet in the Chinese language. For further biographical details see BDRC, Vol.2, pp. 122-124.

[11] Kuo Mo-jo, poet, novelist, essayist, playwright, translator and historian, was born in Szechuan in 1892. Whilst studying medicine in Japan he made friends with other Chinese students with literary interests and read a great deal of literature, especially the English and German Romantic Poets. He himself ventured into the field of poetry and wrote a collection of verse entitled Goddesses (1921) which made a break with the formal rules of traditional Chinese poetry. Instead of practising medicine upon his return to China in 1924, he engaged in political and literary activities. His political activities, however, forced him to flee to Japan where he remained, studying ancient Chinese history and palaeography, until the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war. He then assumed many government posts. Since 1949 he has served as Chairman of the All-China Federation of Writers and Artists and as President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. Kuo Mo-jo has written nine autobiographical volumes and translated into Chinese such writers as, Goethe, Schiller, Tolstoy, U. Sinclair and H.G. Wells. For further biographical details see BDRC, Vol.2, pp. 271-276.

[12] Wen I-to, poet, literary critic, and an authority on Chinese classical literature, was born in Hsi-shui,

the first generation of "new poets", and Tai Wang-shu 戴望舒,[13] Pien Chih-lin 卞之琳,[14] and Li Chin-fa 李金髮,[15] the second generation of new poets. In turn, the latter became models for the still younger poets, notably the three young men mentioned earlier.

Hupeh, in 1889. He received a thorough education in the traditional manner at home; but when at Tsinghua Academy, Peking, during the May Fourth Incident, 1919, he became involved in the pai-hua movement. He went to the United States in 1923 to study painting, but developed also an interest in the English Romantic Poets and attended courses on Victorian and modern English poetry. His first volume of verse appeared in the United States in 1923 and his second volume appeared in China shortly after his return in 1925. He was associated for a while with the Crescent Moon Society, but came to disagree with its search for pure beauty. He subsequently turned his back on modern poetry and returned to the study of classical literature. He did not take part in public life again until the war. He was finally assassinated in 1946 for his outspoken criticism of the treatment of Communists by the Kuomintang. Wen I-to established criteria for metrical verse in modern Chinese poetry, in contrast to Hu Shih's idea of a vague natural rhythm. For further biographical details see BDRC, Vol.3, pp. 408-411.

13 Tai Wang-shu, (1905-1950), poet and translator, studied French literature in Shanghai and became a member of The Modernists, an association of symbolist poets, founded by Li Chin-fa, in 1932. Tai translated the work of Mallarmé and Valery, who, in turn exercised a strong influence on his own poetry. In 1934 he went to France and Spain to study. In 1938 he went to Hong Kong to edit the literary supplement of Hsing-tao jih-pao, as well as the supplements of Chu-chiang jih-pao and the Ta-kung-pao. Imprisonment during the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong affected his health, and he died at the age of 45. He is particularly noted for his adaptation of the metrics and imagery of the French symbolists. For further details see, Li Li-ming, opcit., pp.560-561.

14 Pien Chih-lin, noted for writing some of the most daring and obscure poetry of the middle thirties, was born in Kiangsu in 1910. After graduating from Peking University he taught at National Szechuan University. After the war most of his important work was in the field of translation. In 1957 he was

When Chi Hsien, Ch'in Tzu-hao and Chung Ting-wen came over to Taiwan, ahead of the subsequent wave of refugees, they had the field virtually to themselves, largely because native Taiwanese poets had lost their confidence in the handling of their own language due to the prohibition placed on the use of Chinese by the Japanese during the latter part of their occupancy of the island.

It will be recalled that young writers in Taiwan had instituted their own vernacular New Literature Movement in the early nineteen twenties along the same lines as had their counterparts on the mainland.[16] They had attacked traditional poetry and experimented with new forms and new content as had their fellow-poets

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appointed to the editorial board of the journal Poetry. According to the Hong Kong paper, Hsin-wan-pao, Pien was in 1973 working in the foreign literature section of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. For further details see ibid., pp.50-51.

15 Li Chin-fa, (1900-1976) sculptor, poet and translator, was born in Meihsien, Canton. At the age of seventeen he went to Shanghai in order to take a course which prepared students for study in France. In 1919, with Chang Tao-fan and sixty-seven other students, Li went to France to study sculpture. On his return to China he became principal of the Nanking School of Fine Arts. He fled to Vietnam in 1938, but returned two years later to work in the cultural field for the Canton Provincial Government. In 1944 he went to Iran as Second Secretary in the Chinese Embassy, and in 1946 he went as Chargé d'Affaires to Iraq. He elected to remain abroad after the Communists came to power. He travelled extensively before finally settling down in New York. Li Chin-fa was one of the first poets to introduce French Symbolism to China. His first volume of modern poetry was published in 1925. This was followed by a second volume the following year. A third came out in 1927. He has also written on German literature, Italian art and the love poems of ancient Greece. For further details see, ibid, pp. 119-120.

across the Taiwan Straits. However, we saw also that with the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, all use of the Chinese language was banned and that Japanese literature consequently dominated the island. When Taiwan was returned to China those who had either fallen silent or had switched to Japanese had, therefore, to relearn their own language or revive forgotten skills.

Some encouragement to start again was given by such newspapers as Hsing sheng pao which devoted a column of its pages, "Ch 'iao" 橋, to modern poetry. Further, Ch'in Tzu-hao, shortly after his arrival in Taiwan, began publishing a poetry supplement to the Taipei Evening Post, of which he was editor. This provided yet another outlet for budding poets, who, by and large, were young men in their twenties. With the large influx of refugees after 1949, these young men were joined by other aspiring poets from the mainland, thus making a sizeable number interested in the writing of modern poetry. By that year several other newspapers had found space for modern poetry in their columns.

In 1951 Ch'in Tzu-hao joined forces with the slightly older Ko Hsien-ning to produce the periodical Hsin-shih chou-k'an 新詩週刊(New Poetry Weekly).

Most of the poetry that saw publication at this time was very much mainland orientated, for the basic themes were concerned with the loss of home and country and the

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[16] See Chapter Two, pp.39-45.

future of the nation. Because of the passion and anger conveyed in these poems, they were described by official sources as being "extremely rich in fighting spirit."[17] Others saw them in a different light and described them as "propaganda-motivated writing."[18] In whatever manner it was described, this kind of poetry began to be overshadowed in 1952 by what Yü Kuang-chung called "serious work".[19] What caused this shift in emphasis were the increasing number of translations of European and American poetry and articles on literary criticism and theory that began to be published and to attract attention.

It was at this point, however, that the mainland poets who had revived and encouraged the growth of modern poetry writing in Taiwan began to part company with each other due to their differing views regarding the degree to which Chinese poetry was to be westernized.

The Modernists.

In 1953 Chi Hsien started publishing a journal called Hsien-tai shih 現代詩 (Modern Poetry) in which he and the group that had gathered round him pledged themselves to "lead the second revolution in new poetry and to

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17 WIS, p. 218.

18 Yü Kuang-chung, New Chinese Poetry, p.VII.

19 ibid.

promote the modernization of new poetry."[20] The manner in which this was to be accomplished was spelled out in "Six Great Articles of Faith." The first Article, which claimed kinship with all modern poets from Baudelaire down, and the second, which stated that modern Chinese poetry should be "laterally transplanted and not directly inherited,"[21] made it abundantly clear where the Modernists, as they called themselves, sought their inspiration and their models. The third, fourth and fifth articles called for new content, new forms, new tools, new techniques and an emphasis on intellectualism as opposed to excessive lyricism and emotionalism. Article Six, however, made it clear that despite the strong leaning towards the West, the present fight against Communism had not been forgotten, and that love for the fatherland had not diminished.

The Modernists attracted a wide following. Many of the younger members of the group, however, had very confused ideas as to what constituted a modern poem apart from the fact that it used pai-hua instead of wen-yen. Nor did they know where to draw the dividing line between poetry and prose. Their early efforts were, consequently, "backward, faulty and immature."[22]

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20 Lo Fu 洛夫 "Chung-kuo hsien-tai shih ti ch'eng-chang" 中國現代詩的長成 (The Coming of Age of Modern Chinese Poetry) in Hsien-tai wen-hsüeh 現代文學, No.46, (Taipei, March, 1972), p. 54.

21 ibid.

Others produced a poetry that did not appear to have advanced beyond the kind of modern poetry composed on the mainland in the thirty years following the May Fourth Movement.[23] To help rectify the situation, Modern Poetry devoted considerable space in its early issues to criticism, theory and analysis. Later, it was to include much translation of poetry from the West and to introduce poets from the most important schools in Europe and the United States.[24]

It was not until 1956, however, when the Modernists banded together to form a poetry society, that they became a real force in the field of modern poetry. Despite experiments that did not always succeed and antagonisms aroused through their poetry, the Modernists were instrumental in wakening poets to the range of possibilities open to them. As a consequence, the Modernists helped to accelerate the modernization or up-dating of new poetry.[25]

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22 Yang Mu 楊牧, "Kuan-yü Chi Hsien ti Hsien-tai shih-she yü Hsien-tai p'ai" 關於紀弦的現代詩社與現代派 (Chi Hsien's Modern Poetry Society and the Modernists), in Hsien-tai wen-hsüeh, No.46, (March, 1972), p.92.

23 Yeh Shan 葉珊 "Hsieh tsai 'Hui-ku' chuan-hao ti ch'ien-mien" 寫在「回顧」專號的前面 (Foreword to the Special Number "In Retrospect"), in Hsien-tai wen-hsüeh, No.46, (March, 1972), p.6.

24 Yang Mu, opcit., p.92.

25 Chang Mo, 張默 "Ch'uang-shih-chi ti fa-chan lu-hsien chi ch'i chien-t'ao" 「創世紀」的發展路線及其檢討 (A Review of Genesis Poetry Society and the Course of Its Development), in Hsien-tai wen-hsüeh, No.46, (March, 1972), p.6.

The Blue Stars

The excessively Western-orientated stance taken and the kind of poetry that issued from the pens of the Modernists so offended Ch'in Tzu-hao and Chung Ting-wen that they joined forces with Yü Kuang-chung; Hsia Ch'ing 夏菁,[26] a poet and essayist, who worked as a conservationist with the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, and Teng Yü-p'ing 鄧禹平,[27] film-script editor and director. Together these five poets formed a loose association which they called the Blue Star Poetry Society.[28] To begin with, Ch'in Tzu-hao

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[26] Hsia Ch'ing was born in Chekiang in 1925. He is a graduate of Chekiang University. Hsia Ch'ing and Yü Kuang-chung started their writing careers almost simultaneously. Both wrote rhymed verse in the manner of the poets of the twenties and thirties until they came under the influence of Emily Dickinson when they began to explore the ballad stanza. Hsia Ch'ing went on to develop a more witty or satirical vein. He was at one time editor of the Literary Review. He went to the United States and gained a Master of Science degree from Colorado State University. In 1968 he went to Jamaica as a conservationist under a United Nations programme. Among his works are Ching-ching ti lin chien 靜靜的林間 (In the Silent Forest) and P'en-shui-ch'ih 噴水池 (The Fountain). Eight of his poems, translated by Yü Kuang-chung, are to be found in ACCL.

[27] Teng Yü-p'ing was born in Szechuan in 1924. He is largely known for his work in the film industry. He has been director of Central, Asia, and China Motion Picture Companies, and has edited and directed many plays. He has also been interested in the dance and has written several collections of poetry. One such collection won The Chinese Literature and Art Award as did one of his filmscripts.

[28] A favourite meeting-place of these five poets was a booth in the open-air tearoom of the Chungshan Hall in Taipei. There they would gather frequently to sip tea, discuss poetry and read each other's new work. All five had been trying to think of a

entertained the idea of the group formulating its own manifesto, but met with opposition from the other members of the group who wanted to keep it a "friendly union"[29] rather than have it develop into a regular school. Shortly after its formation, the Blue Stars began to edit the weekly poetry section of the newspaper, Kung lun pao 公論報 (Public Opinion), but when the paper had to cease publication, they began to issue a single-paged, blue-lettered monthly. This single-sheeted publication was important for two reasons; one, because it drew the public's attention to the modernization process that was going on in the field of poetry, and two, because it helped poets themselves to see the need to write in such a manner that the public was not estranged from their poetry. In other words, they learned to "popularize."[30] In time, the Blue Stars began to publish their own journal as more poets joined the group. With the growth of the Blue Star Poetry Society came a greater diversity of poetic expression. Though influenced by American and French poets, they nevertheless allowed the Chinese tradition

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suitable name for their group, but to no avail. On the spur of the moment Ch'in Tzu-hao one day proposed the name "Blue Stars", and as none of the others could think of a better name, they decided to adopt it. See Yü Kuang-chung, "Ti shih-ch'i ko tan-ch'en" 第十七個誕辰 (The Seventeenth Birthday), in Hsien-tai wen-hsueh, No.46, March, 1972), p.13.

29 Yü Kuang-chung, New Chinese Poetry, p.viii.

30 Yeh Shan, op.cit., p.8.

to exercise a restraining influence over their work, and as a consequence, their poetry was neither as extreme, obscure or as Western-oriented as that coming from the Modernists.

Genesis Poetry Society

Those who attached themselves to the Modernists, who, it will be remembered, did not form an association or poetry society until 1956, were either students or Chi Hsien's friends. Those who joined the Blue Star Poetry Society, on the other hand, were a mixed group of people composed of office-workers, students and enlisted men. Despite their diverse social backgrounds and professions, most of the young poets who belonged to either group could be regarded as young intellectuals who were familiar with more than one language and literature.[31]

In the southern part of the island, cut off from the activities in the north, was a different group of young poets who were members of the armed forces and who had been no more than in their late teens or early twenties when they arrived in Taiwan. They had had little formal education due to loss of home and family in their youth, but they were highly intelligent and imaginative and had a distinct liking for poetry. They tried to make up for their lack of education by reading widely both Chinese and Western literature, and they trained themselves to

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[31] See ACCL. Introduction to the Poems, p.4 and Palandri, op.cit., p.7.

write poetry.[32] At first they sent their poems to the Modernists or the Blue Stars, but they came to feel that outlets for poetry were somewhat limited. They therefore decided to print their own publications even though they had to pawn their watches and bicycles in order to do so.[33] The most outstanding of their publications was the periodical, Genesis, which was the name they also gave to their own poetry society.

Initially, the leaders of the Genesis Poetry Society, Ya Hsien 瘂弦,[34] Lo Fu 洛夫[35] and Chang Mo 張默,[36]

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32 Palandri, op.cit., p.144.

33 Yeh Shan, op.cit., p.6.

34 Ya Hsien was born in the province of Honan in 1932. After graduating from the Political Staff College, which was operated by the Ministry of Defense, he joined the navy. He began writing poetry in 1951. After twenty years in the navy he retired with the rank of Lieutenant Commander. In 1966 and in 1968 he attended courses in creative literature at Iowa University. Upon his return to Taiwan in 1968 he became editor of Young Lions, (YSWI). He collaborated with Chang Mo on the publication of Chung-kuo hsien-tai shih hsüan 中國現代詩選 (Anthology of Modern Chinese Poetry), 1967, and with Chang Mo and Lo Fu on Ch'i-shih nien-tai shih hsüan 七十年代詩選 (Anthology of the Seventies). Among his works are Ya Hsien shih ch'ao 瘂弦詩抄 (Poems by Ya H'sien), 1959, and Shen yüan 深淵 (The Abyss), 1968. Thirteen of his poems are to be found in ACCL, Vol.1, and ten in Palandri op.cit. His poetry is described as dramatic, vigorous and individualistic and has moved from impressionism through exoticism to surrealism.

35 Lo Fu, leading surrealist poet and controversial figure in the field of contemporary poetry, was born in Hunan Province in 1928. He joined the armed forces in 1944. In 1948 he passed the entrance examination for the Foreign Languages Department of Hunan University, but had to abandon his studies. From 1951 to 1953 he studied at the Political Staff College after which he joined the navy. He was attached to the Navy Broadcasting Station as reporter and liaison officer. In 1958 he entered the Foreign Languages Institute for

three naval officers stationed at Tsoying Naval Base, said no more in their journal than that they were going to "establish firmly the national battleline for new poetry and stir up current trends of thought on new poetry."[37] Nor did they go further than assert that they would make every effort to encourage young poets to "eliminate completely the circulating poisons of Communism and pornography."[38] Thus they revealed that they were not in any way departing from the basic principles laid down by the Armed Forces Literature and Art Movement.

Officers where he studied for one year. In 1965 he was sent to Vietnam as secretary for a military advisory and assistance mission. Upon his return to Taiwan he studied for an arts degree at Tamkang College of Arts and Sciences. He retired from the navy with the rank of Commander. Apart from the anthologies he published in collaboration with Ya Hsien and Chang Mo, he has written, Shih-shih chih szu-wang 石室之死亡 (Death in the Stone Cell), 1964, which caused a considerable amount of controversy because of its startling imagery; Wu an chih ho 無岸之河 (River without Banks), 1970, and Ling ho 靈河 (Soul River), 1975. Palandri translates the latter as The Soul is a River and gives as its publishing date 1958. Eleven of his poems, including 'Death in a Stone Cell', are to be found in ACCL, and eleven are to be found in Palandri,op.cit.

36 Chang Mo was born in Anhui Province in 1931. Little is known of his early life or of his life in Taiwan beyond the fact that he is in the navy and worked closely with Lo Fu and Ya Hsien on the various anthologies of the sixties and seventies. Among his works are, Tzu ti pien-ch'ui 紫的邊陲 (The Dark Frontier), Shang sheng ti feng-ching 上昇的風景 (Soaring Landscape) and a collection of essays on poetry entitled, Hsien-tai shih ti t'ou-ying 現代詩的投影 (Projection of Modern Poetry). His poetry is noted for its 'transparency and clarity; its coherency of thought, and its simplicity of metre' (WIS, p.244).

37 Chang Mo, op.cit., p.115.

38 ibid.

With the formation of the Modern Poetry Society in 1956 and the establishment in the same year of Literary Review, of which T.A. Hsia was editor, a fresh momentum was injected into the modern poetry movement and many new poets began to attract attention. At this point Genesis Poetry Society published an editorial in its periodical in which it put forward more concrete proposals for a "new model for national poetry" (hsin min-tsu shih-hsing 新民族詩型).[39] The new poetry that was to emerge was to serve as a model for other poets to emulate; and the two basic requirements were that it should pay attention to imagery, form and mood, and should contain a specifically Chinese quality. In other words, it should "utilize that special difference of the Chinese written language in order to reveal that special flavour found in the lives of the peoples of the East."[40] The idea caught on and the response was greater than the society had anticipated. The first ten issues of the periodical Genesis published more than eight hundred poems from enthusiastic supporters.[41]

For the next three years Genesis Poetry Society did not deviate from the guidelines it had drawn up for itself.

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39 ibid., p.116.
40 ibid.
41 ibid.

In 1959, however, a complete change took place and the idea of a national poetic form was discarded. Instead, emphasis was laid on the universal quality of poetry which transcends all national boundaries. To aim for a distinctly national form was now considered too narrow and too limiting. Apart from this, it was considered unnecessary since by the very nature of things a Chinese poet was bound to reflect his Chineseness in his writing regardless of the source of his inspiration. The subsequent issues of Genesis therefore introduced the theories and works of every kind of school in Europe and the United States; and a complete swing towards avant-garde writing, including a form of French surrealism, took place.[42] Unfortunately, much of the poetry of the writers concerned became incoherent and difficult to understand, and, as a consequence, the gap between them and the reading public widened.

Poet and Public, and Poet and Poet

The search for a more contemporary form of modern Chinese poetry resulted in two major controversies, one between the poet and the public and the other between poet and poet.

The first controversy broke out as a result of the reading public becoming increasingly alientated from the new poetry because of its frequent "clumsiness of style, obscurity of language and irrelevance to society."[43]

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[42] ibid., p.121, and ACCL, Vol.2, Introduction to the Poems, p.4.

The public could appreciate that literature was not static and that it had to move with the times, but it appeared to be moving with Western times, not Chinese times. There were two major differences between the Taiwan literary scene and the Western literary scene, some readers argued. The West had a social background of high industrial development and high population density, unlike Taiwan at this time; and, more importantly, its cultural characteristics were quite different. Whether poetry was contemporized or not was a matter of personal preference, but if poetry was to be contemporized, it should express what people at home were thinking and feeling in a language they could understand.[44]

Others attacked modern poetry from a different angle. They looked for fatal flaws in the lives of those Western poets that acted as models for the poet in Taiwan. Thus, much was made of Baudelaire's addiction to opium; the decadence of his living, and his "half-crazed"[45] state of mind when composing poetry.

The defenders of modern poetry answered the barrage of criticism that desceneded upon them by calling their critics "unsympathetic, unimaginative and unreceptive to

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43 ACCL, Vol.2, Introduction to the Poems, p.5.

44 Hsü Yu-shou 徐有守, "Lun tang-ch'ien T'ai-wan wen-hsüeh ti hsin ch'ü-shih" 論當前臺灣文學的新趨勢 (On Current New Trends in Taiwan Literature) in Hsin shih-tai 新時代 (New Times). Vol.VII, No.3, p.22.

45 Yang Mu, op.cit., p.99.

anything original."[46] And as for the ridicule heaped on Baudelaire, the Modernists replied that they were not interested in his behaviour or his philosophy, but in his "method of presentation,"[47] and that was all.

The so-called "public debate"[48] took place via columns opened in newspapers and journals specifically for that purpose. All sides were to be allowed to air their views; and this they did in no uncertain terms.[49]

The debate between poet and the public may not have reconciled readers to the new poetry, but the debate did help to convince people that modern poetry was there to stay; and, though different from the classical, this new poetry had to be taken seriously.

The second controversy, between poet and poet, flared up in the spring of 1961 and continued well into the late sixties.

The main bone of contention, as far as the Modernists, the Blue Stars and Genesis Poetry Society were concerned, was just how far "West" poets should go in the process of contemporizing modern poetry. They were on the whole in agreement with the idea that Westernization was a necessary step in the modernizing process, but they became

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46 ACCL, Vol.2, Introduction to the Poems, p.5.

47 Yang Mu, op.cit., p.99.

48 Chen, Lucy, op.cit., p.137.

49 Ch'in Tzu-hao and Su Hsüeh-lin, for example, had verbal skirmishes with each other over the interpretation of symbolism and the merits of modern poetry in the columns of Tzu-yu ch'ing nien 自由青年 (Free Youth). Further, Su Hsüeh-lin made very scathing

increasingly divided over the question of whether the native tradition was an obstacle or, properly inherited, a great help.[50] The radical innovators were more than eager to be done with their national heritage and wanted to inject new life into modern Chinese poetry by borrowing techniques and images from contemporary American and European verse. In the case of Genesis Poetry Society, it had swung right over to a surrealism that bordered on a state of nihilism. It had succeeded in shocking the literary world with its startling imagery, its lack of logic and grammar, and the manner in which it pushed the vernacular "beyond its conceptual limits by the power of the imagination."[51]

The Blue Stars had, by contrast, pursued a more moderate line, and made a point of keeping in touch with the people. This it did by holding poetry recitals in public places and university auditoria which, at times, attracted audiences of over five hundred people. Audience reaction would immediately indicate whether a poem found favour or not. The benefit of such recitals, the Blue Stars felt, was two-fold. First, they helped people to become better acquainted with a more contemporary

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remarks about Yü Kuang-chung's poetry in the columns of Ch'un wen-hsüeh 純文學 (Pure Literature). See Yü Kuang-chung, "Ti shih-ch'i ko tan-ch'en" 第十七個誕辰 (The Seventeenth Birthday), in Hsien-tai wen-hsüeh, No.46, (March, 1972), pp.17-18.

50 ACCL, Vol.2. Introduction to the Poems, p.5.

51 Palandri, op.cit., p.7.

form of modern poetry, and secondly, they helped the poet to gauge whether or not he was communicating with his audience.[52] This attempt to write in a manner intelligible to the general public did not, however, exonerate these poets in the eyes of the traditionalists who were opposed to all forms of modern poetry.

Eventually the writers of modern poetry began to attack each other. This did not cause the traditionalists to cease attacking them as a group, however, for they found it impossible to see how anything transplanted from foreign soil could begin to flourish in a Chinese environment, no matter how invigorating the climate.[53]

Despite the bitterness that accompanied the controversy between poet and poet, the controversy itself was considered beneficial for modern poetry for it forced modern poets to take a fresh look at their traditional heritage and to realize its importance. At the same time they had to work harder to perfect their craft, and, in consequence, began to turn out poetry that won recognition, at first grudgingly, from an ever growing readership. So much was this the case,

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[52] Yü Kuang-chung calls to mind several such poetry recitals given in 1964 and 1967. In the autumn of 1964 the Blue Stars held three recitals, the last one in conjunction with Hsien-tai wen-hsüeh. In 1967 Yü and Ssu-ma Chung-yüan (see Chapter Three, footnote 117) gave a recital of contemporary poetry at Ch'eng-kung University to an audience of students, the majority of which were Su Hsüeh-lin's. Remarking on Su Hsüeh-lin's disapproving presence, Yü says, with a certain amount of Schadenfreude, "sitting upright and looking straight ahead ... she was powerless to prevent them [her students] from drawing

that the poet Yeh Shan 葉珊 [54] was to say, in 1972, that modern poetry had "almost acquired a position of 'orthodoxy' in literature."[55] His observation is borne out by the numerous anthologies that have been put out by both government and private publishers and by the increasing number of translations, particularly into English, that are appearing in the West.[56]

Apart from the controversies just described, the sixties was a time when new poetry societies came into being as a result of new alignments between poets; changed points of view, and the arrival on the literary scene of a whole new generation of poets aiming for a

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near to the present." Yü Kuang-chung, "Ti shih-ch'i ko tan-ch'en", p.18.
(It was not that Su Hsüeh-lin was against modern poetry as she thought very highly of Hsü Chih-mo. But it was the poetry of the sixties in Taiwan that aroused her antagonism.)

53 ACCL, Vol.2. Introduction to the Poems, p.5.

54 Yeh Shan was born in Hualien, Taiwan, in 1940. After graduating from Tung hai University, he went to the United States and gained an M.F.A. from the University of Iowa. He subsequently gained a Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley, for his work on comparative literature. Yeh Shan started writing poetry at the age of sixteen. He is outstanding among those Taiwanese poets who have won public recognition. He has won two poetry awards, one from the Chinese Youth Writers' Association and the other from a poetry society formed in 1970, Shih tsung-she, 詩宗社 (Poetry Club). He has published more than ten books. Among his works are, Shui chih mei 水之湄 (Water's Brink), 1960; Hua chi 花季 (Flower Season), 1963; Teng ch'uan 燈船 (Lantern Boat), 1966; Ch'uan-shuo 傳說 (Legend), 1971. Eleven of his poems, translated into English, are to be found in Palandri, op.cit. Yeh Shan is now writing under the name of Yang Mu 楊牧

55 Yeh Shan, op.cit., p.8.

56 See TCML, p.67.

more quiet, spare and lucid style of poetic expression. Thus, in 1964, for example, young Taiwanese who had belonged to the Modernist Poetry Society left to form their own society, Li 笠 (Bamboo Hat). The name, with its rural connotations, was indicative of the new society's desire for something more simple and less esoteric in modern poetry writing.[57] Then, in 1970 the Shih tsung she 詩宗社 (Poetry Club) was formed by members of Genesis Poetry Society, which had gone into a decline; former members of the Modernist Poetry Society, and supporters of the poetry journal, Nan pei ti 南北笛 (The Nan Pei Flute), a publication established in the fifties. The group, which included Ya Hsien, Lo Fu and Chang Mo, did not advance any particular literary theory or advocate adherence to any special school of poetry; but they had a common aim which was to work for the recognition of modern poetry and to re-evaluate the Chinese poetic tradition. It had a membership of thirty, the majority of whom had played leading roles in the modern poetry movement in the sixties. The Poetry Club brought out several publications and instituted its own poetry award.[58]

Hsing-tso 星座 (Constellation) was started by students in the foreign languages department of Chengchih University, but it came to include members of the armed

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[57] See ACCL, Introduction to the Poems, p.6.

[58] See Lo Fu, op.cit., p.58.

forces as well. In 1966 most of its members went abroad to study and the society was disbanded. Though short-lived, its influence, nevertheless, was far-reaching.[59]

The Long tsu shih she 龍族詩社 (Dragon Poetry Society) was formed in 1971 largely by former members of the Li Poetry Society and young poets, most of them under thirty years of age, who had thus far not joined any particular group. It sought to rejuvenate and contemporize Chinese culture, but not in the manner of the poets of the late fifties and early sixties.

A body which had spanned all shades of opinion and acted as a bridge between all societies as well as the various writers' associations was the Chung-kuo shih-jen lien-i-hui 中國詩人聯誼會 (The Chinese Poets' Assembly). Formed in 1957, it went into a decline in the sixties and finally disintegrated.[60] However, other societies of a similar nature came into existence following the period reviewed here.

With the maturation of modern Chinese poetry in Taiwan, poets have increasingly become known overseas, and as a consequence they have been invited to attend international gatherings of poets. Thus, Chung Ting-wen attended the eighth biennial Assembly of International poets held in Belgium in 1969; and in 1970 he and

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[59] Yeh Shan, op.cit., p.9.

[60] See WINC, pp. 98-100 and WIS, p.250.

Chi Hsien led an eight-member delegation of poets to the World Poets' Congress held in Manila.[61]

Looking back over the period just reviewed in this chapter, An Anthology of Contemporary Chinese Literature says,

> Somehow, modern Chinese poetry in Taiwan has gone full circle in its wild pursuit of the Western Muse and its lovers' quarrel with tradition, and has just come to the point where the odyssey ends at a new beginning. Now is the time for the prodigal poets to review critically what they have done and plan sagaciously what they will do. It is true that in their rush toward the West, they have learned much about the technique of literary mining, but genuine gold still lies unexplored in the mines at home, in the reality and tradition that are China. Westernization is only a means, but not the end, of the modernization of Chinese culture.[62]

The Essay

Just as the Literary Revolution of 1917 opened the way for poetry to be written in the vernacular and to be invested with new content, so too did it pave the way for a change to take place with regard to the essay. Initially, most of the prose pieces that appeared in the literary columns of newspapers and journals could be classed as critical or expository essays since the majority were either of a scholarly nature or dealt with matters of public and private interest.[63] The artistic essay, the

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[61] See TCML, p.66.

[62] ACCL, Vol.2, Introduction to the Poems, p.7.

[63] See Pollard, D.E., A Chinese Look at Literature. The Literary Values of Chou Tso-jen in Relation to the Tradition, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1973), p.106.

essay that reads like a "prose poem, because it is in fact a bridge between poetry and prose,"[64] was slow to make its entry in the vernacular on the literary scene. Models for artistic essays or belles lettres could be found in classical prose, prefaces and descriptions, but when it came to writing an artistic essay in the vernacular, writers like Chou Tso-jen 周作人,[65] the younger brother of Lu Hsün, felt the need to "consult foreign models",[66] particularly those developed by the

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64 Chou Tso-jen as quoted by Pollard, ibid., p.105.

65 Chou Tso-jen was born in Shaohsing Chekiang in 1885. Like his brother Lu Hsün, he attended the Kiangnan Naval Academy in Nanking. The years 1906 to 1911 were spent in Japan where he developed a strong interest in contemporary Japanese literature. Upon his return to China he worked in the educational service in Chekiang, but in 1917 he was appointed to the staff of Peking University. He was a founder member of the Literary Association and supported various literary journals like New Youth and New Tide. He began to make a name for himself as a writer of essays. In the twenties he became suspect to the war lord government in North China for his liberal ideas; as a consequence he ceased to write overtly on current affairs. During the Sino-Japanese War he stayed in Peking and became Dean of the Faculty of Literature of Peking University and Commissioner of Education in the Japanese-sponsored government. After the war, therefore, he was brought to trial as a collaborator and sentenced to death. This was commuted to ten years imprisonment through the intercessions of Hu Shih and Li Tsung-jen, who at the time was on the National Military Council, but Chou was released in 1949 after which he returned to Peking. He died in 1967. For further biographical details see BDKC, Vol.1, pp. 424-425. For information regarding his literary development see, Pollard, D.E., 'Chou Tso-jen and Cultivating One's Garden' in Asia Major, New Series, XI, 2, (1965), pp. 180-198; and Pollard, D.E., A Chinese Look at Literature.

66 Pollard, op.cit., p.105.

English-speaking peoples. He made it clear, however, that consultation did not mean imitation, for a writer had to present his own thoughts in his own words. Chou Tso-jen perfected his craft to such a degree that Hu Shih was to say that Chou's essays disproved the myth that the vernacular could not be a medium for fine writing;[67] and it was largely due to him that the modern essay came to be recognized as a legitimate art form.

Many other writers of the artistic essay came to the fore in the twenties and thirties, some of the more notable being Lin Yü-t'ang 林語堂,[68] Yü P'ing-po 俞平伯,[69] Chu Tzu-ch'ing 朱自清,[70] and Hsieh

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67 See Hu Shih, "Wu-shih nien lai Chung-kuo chih wen-hsüeh" 五十年來中國之文學 (Chinese Literature of the Last Fifty Years) in Hu Shih wen-tsun 胡適文存 (Collected Essays of Hu Shih), 4 vols., (Hong Kong, Yüan-tung t'u-shu kung-szu, 1962), Vol.2, p.259.

68 Lin Yü-t'ang, (1895-), scholar, translator, writer and journalist. He was a leader of the movements to use social satire and to adapt Western newspaper prose to Chinese journalism. He established an international reputation with the publication of My Country and My People and The Importance of Living and his translation, particularly, of Six Chapters of a Floating Life. He lived abroad for many years but went to live in Taiwan in 1965 where he continued to contribute to the literary scene there. For further biographical details see BDRC, Vol.2, pp. 387-389.

69 Yü P'ing-po, (1899-), essayist, poet, critic, scholar. He is best known for his work on The Dream of the Red Chamber. Although he experimented with new poetry, most of his creative writing consisted of short prose pieces. He was largely influenced by Lu Hsün and Chou Tso-jen. For further biographical details see BDRC, Vol.4, pp. 67-70.

70 Chu Tzu-ch'ing, (1898-1948), essayist, scholar and poet was a life-long friend of Yü P'ing-po. He was head of the Chinese department of Tsing-hua University for many years and he played an important role as writer and teacher of Chinese. Some of his essays

Ping-hsin 謝冰心,[71] to give just a random selection.

The events of 1949, as we have seen, brought many established writers over to Taiwan to continue with their writing once the initial shock of living in exile began to wear off. Although many of the essays that appeared in the supplements of Hsing-sheng pao and Chung-yang jih-pao were "political comments stated artistically,"[72] the majority were "pure essays" (ch'un san-wen 純散文 or mei-wen 美文).[73] Some of the most well-known contributors to the columns of the literary supplements during this early period, 1949 to 1952, were Hsieh Ping-ying, Su Hsüeh-lin, Chang Hsiu-ya, Ko Hsien-ning, Wang Lin-t'ai and Mu Chung-nan. The essays produced by the majority of essayists on the whole reflected the general mood pervading society at this time, albeit many exhibited a kind of defiance or "fighting-spiritedness" in order to maintain public morale. Either way, the basic themes were concerned with the homeland and absent friends.[74]

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have been acclaimed as being representative of the best of Chinese prose of the period. His travel sketches, for example, were used by students of Chinese as composition models. For further biographical details see BDKC, Vol.1, pp. 465-467.

71 Hsieh Ping-hsin, (1900-), poet, essayist and short story writer. She was born in Fukien, but was sent to a girls' school in Peking. She then attended Yenching University and upon graduation went to the United States for advanced study. Upon her return to China she joined the academic staff of Yenching University. Ping Hsin was a pioneer among Chinese women writers. She developed a distinctive style and wrote with sincerity and compassion. She enjoyed great popularity in China in the early nineteen twenties.

From 1952 to 1963 literally hundreds of writers, both established and recent additions to the literary scene, turned out essays in large numbers. Those who had come from the mainland "continued to write in their individual styles and provide links between the past and the present,"[75] whilst the newer, younger writers tried to inject a new spirit into the essay and to write about contemporary life in Taiwan.

Despite the evidence to the contrary, the view has been put forward by both Directory of Contemporary Authors of the Republic of China and A History of the Literature and Art of Republican China that the essay went into a decline in the fifties and early sixties, firstly, because the reading public no longer felt so distracted by external circumstances that it could read nothing but short literary pieces, and therefore turned from the essay to the novel; and secondly, because the Literary Award Committee had failed to institute a literary award specifically for essay writing. Consequently, say the above-mentioned publications, authors were either diverted from the writing of essays to the writing of novels, or else they ceased writing altogether.

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72 WIS, p.407.

73 TCML, p.2.

74 See WIS, p.407. The names of some forty-seven essayists are listed on the same page.

75 ACCL, Vol.1. Introduction to the Essays, p.319.

Yet another factor contributing to the decline of the essay, say these publications, was the fact that publishers could make more money from reprinting old books or publishing translations of foreign literature than they could out of collections of new essays. It therefore became increasingly difficult for an essayist to find an outlet for his work.[76]

It is impossible to prove or disprove the veracity of these statements without statistical evidence, for book-sellers appeared to continue to sell collections of essays and new names were added to the long list of successful essayists.

If there was any change at this time, it was rather in subject matter and diction than in a reduced output. It is probably true, however, that changes of this kind were to be found chiefly among the new generation of essayists than among the "old guard."

The new imagery; the new diction employed by the new poets; the philosophies of existentialism and nihilism, introduced into Taiwan in the middle sixties, were all to affect the artistic essay to some degree. As a consequence, complaints of a disregard for social conventions and tradition were levelled against the current essay. In addition, the products of this period were described as being unrefined, chaotic, decadent and hedonistic, and were accused of employing

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[76] See WIS, p.410 and TCML, p.4.

a language readers found hard to comprehend. Instead of "shen ju ch'ien ch'u 深入淺出 it had become a case of "ch'ien ju shen ch'u" 淺入深出.[77]

As with the modern poets, the new essayists came in time to appreciate their own heritage; and their work began once again to contain many features that are "distinctively Chinese."[78]

Writers of the artistic essay who are considered to be masters of their craft, apart from those mentioned earlier, are, Ts'ai Cho-t'ang (Frederick Ts'ai) 蔡濯堂,[79] Wu Lu-ch'in (Lucian Wu) 吳魯芹 ;[80] Ch'en Chih-fan 陳之藩 ;[81] Chang Chien 張健 ;[82] Li Lan 李藍 ;[83]

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77 WIS, p.411. The expression 'shen ju ch'ien chu' means, to explain the profound in simple terms.

78 ACCL, Vol.1, Introduction to the Essays, p.321.

79 Ts'ai Cho-t'ang, essayist and translator, was born in the province of Kiangsu in 1918. He served for many years as editor of the Chinese version of Reader's Digest published in Hong Kong. He is popular both in Hong Kong and Taiwan for his essays and translations. According to ACCL, (Vol.1, p.387) Ts'ai Cho-t'ang is a sensitive stylist who is deeply concerned about the future of the Chinese language.

80 Wu Lu-ch'in, (1919), is an essayist whose work is noted for its scholarship, urbanity, humour and style. According to ACCL, (Vol.1, p.405) 'His highly cultured mind has been nourished by the best of the East and the West, and he maintains a balance which enables him to find intellectual enjoyment in everything.'

81 Ch'en Chi-fang was born in the province of Hopei in 1925. He is by profession an Electrical Engineer. He received his Ph.D. from Cambridge University after which he went to the University of Houston to teach and do research work. Apart from his scientific publications, however, he has produced several volumes of essays which are very popular, particularly among young people in Taiwan.

and the poets Yü Kuang-chung and Yang Mu (formerly Yeh Shan).[84]

Tsa-wen

An interesting development during the late fifties and early sixties was the revival of a form of the essay used to great effect by Lu Hsün - namely the tsa-wen 雜文 (satirical essay). Lu Hsün's tsa-wen, it will be remembered, were short prose pieces in which he attacked social evil, political corruption and human weaknesses. His language was terse, cutting and to the point. He demolished many an adversary at a stroke of the pen.

The revival of tsa-wen in Taiwan caused a certain amount of misgiving among those who saw it as lending itself to cruelty and malice. Those who approved of

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82 Chang Chien was born in the province of Chekiang in 1939. After doing undergraduate and postgraduate work in Chinese literature at National Taiwan Normal University and National Taiwan University, he joined the staff of the latter University. Chang Chien is considered to be one of the most versatile and prolific of modern Chinese writers. In addition to his essays, he has written poetry and published the results of his research on Chinese literature. Among his works are Hua chung ti wu chi 畫中的霧季 (Season of Mist in the Painting).

83 Li Lan was born in the province of Hopei in 1940. She wrote her first novel, Ai lo jen chien 哀樂人間 (This World of Ours) when she was only eighteen. She has since written several novels and a collection of short stories. Her collection of essays, Tsai Chung-kuo ti yeh 在中國的夜 (China at Night) was published in 1972.

84 For a comprehensive list of essayists see WIS, pp. 409-426, and TCML, pp. 12-15.

it, however, saw it as a means of drawing attention to social injustice or abuse of privilege. "Studded with wit and candor," wrote Lucian Wu in 1962, "these casual pieces exhibit some of the most polished Chinese writing anywhere today in their precise use of words and diction.... Not infrequently they please a great many readers by deriding the mistakes, bumbling and pretensions of officialdom."[85]

Although initially hailed by the promoters of the Fighting Literature Movement as "a powerful wing of the ... Movement,"[86] tsa-wen was to prove too dangerous a weapon, as we shall see in the chapter, "The Case of Kuo I-tung, alias Po Yang;" and its use was not encouraged when it became obvious that it was no respecter of persons.

Fiction

Parallel with the surge of new vigour in the field of poetry came a corresponding change in the field of fiction. Thus far, serious fiction had been almost exclusively concerned with the War of Resistance against the Japanese; the mainland before the Communist take-over, or the various aspects of the struggle against the

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85 Wu, Lucian, op.cit., p.vii.

86 Yü Yen-miao 余延苗, "Chan-tou wen-i chien-ping : tsa-wen" 戰鬥文藝尖兵 - 雜文 (The Satirical Essay - the Lance of Fighting Literature), in YSWI, Vol.14, No.4, (April, 1962), p.7.

Communists. With a few exceptions,[87] the major portion of fiction quickly earned for itself the epithet, anti-Communist eight-legged fiction. "The most overworked theme," wrote Lucy Chen, "was that of a handsome anti-Communist secret agent with whom one or more female Communists would fall in love and sacrifice their lives so that he could carry out his mission and return safely to Formosa. So many of these novels were published and sold that they tended to create an impression that the one thing which stood in the way of a triumphal return to the mainland was the shortage of handsome spies to prepare the way."[88]

In due course, the reading public had had a surfeit of such fiction. The serious reader therefore turned to foreign literature in translation or, if he could read English, French and German, to pirated versions of bestsellers from the United States and Europe. As Taiwan was not a signatory to any international copyright agreement, cheap editions were produced by offset

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87 Lucy Chen cites Ch'en Chi-ying's 陳紀瀅 Ti ts'un chuan 荻村傳 (The Story of Ti Village), translated into English as Fool in the Reeds, and Wang Lan's The Blue and the Black as being more successful than most. See Chen, op.cit., p.133. To these I would add Meng Yao 孟瑤, Wei yen 危巖 (Dangerous Precipice). See Lancashire, E.M. The Novels of Meng Yao, M.A. Thesis, University of Melbourne, 1969, a digest of which has been published in AUMLA, Journal of the Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association, No.34, (November, 1970), pp. 212-240.

88 Chen, Lucy, op.cit., p.134.

printing.[89] The result was that many readers became more familiar with foreign literature than with their own.

Though the Fighting Literature Movement was, as we have seen, concerned to keep the anti-Communist spirit alive, nevertheless, its supporters were well aware of the boredom with the local product that had set in among readers and it therefore tried to set new standards of writing that while seeking to maintain the patriotic, nationalistic stance, would yet lift creative writing to a higher artistic level so that it could compete for the readers' attention. The reviews of 1956, 1958 and 1959 in Young Lions' Literature showed that the awaited transformation did not take place; at least, not in the way expected. The Literary Review caused, as we have seen, a subtle shift in emphasis among writers. Impatient with the nostalgia which dominated a good deal of the writing of the time, and with writers' almost total disregard of life as it was actually lived in Taiwan, Literary Review called for a literature that did not turn its back on reality. It defined the "serious" writer as one who "mirrors the age and transmits the spirit of his time."[90] Both the originators of, and many of the contributors to, the journal were attached

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89 ibid., p.135.

90 "Chih tu-che" 致讀者 (To the Reader) Wen-hsüeh tsa-chih, Vol.1, No.1, (September, 1956), reprinted in Ming pao yüeh-k'an 明報月刊 (Mingpao Monthly), No.121, II, 1, (Hong Kong, January, 1976), p.152.

to National Taiwan University either as faculty members, graduates or students, and most were connected with the Foreign Languages Department.[91] Engaged in the teaching and study of Western literature, they wrote articles which were chiefly concerned with the poetry, fiction and literary theories of European and American writers; but even when literature produced in Taiwan was evaluated, it was according to Western criteria.[92] In the four years of its existence (the journal was forced to cease publication for financial reasons) the editors were often disappointed with the material sent in by contributors because of their seeming inability to come to grips with reality as this was found in Taiwan.[93] The journal's output of creative writing, therefore, fell short of its own expectations;[94] nevertheless, it demonstrated how a serious literary journal ought to operate and it set a standard of literary criticism for others to emulate. It thus "fostered a critically healthy climate conducive to the maturation of creative minds among the second generation."[95]

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91 See Chen, Lucy, op.cit., p.136.

92 See WIS, pp. 90,95.

93 Hsia, T.A. "Appendix: Taiwan" in Hsia, C.T., op.cit., p.512.

94 See Lau, Joseph, S.M., "How much Truth can a Blade of of Grass Carry?" Ch'en Ying-chen and the Emergence of Native Taiwanese Writers in The Journal of Asian Studies, Vol. XXXII, No.4, (August, 1973), p.625.

95 ibid.

The second generation of rising young writers was different from its elders in this respect; although many of this generation were born on the mainland, they had come to Taiwan while still young enough to be able to adapt to their new environment; they did not therefore view the mainland with nostalgia and regret. Restive and impatient to be done with the past, "they refused to accept the older generation's feeling of guilt and shame over the loss of their homeland."[96] and they were determined to write about life in Taiwan as they saw it, which meant "exposing the dark side of life in Taiwan."[97] This generation of writers had, however, been brought up with no knowledge of their immediate literary past. Works by leading writers since the May Fourth Movement had been proscribed due to these writers' association with the Communists or because of their criticism of the Nationalist Government; and with no chance to make comparisons, these rising young writers were mostly unaware that they frequently repeated experiments that had been made before on the mainland. The one major difference between them and their earlier mainland counterparts was that they refrained from making

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96 Pai Hsien-yung 白先勇, "Liu-lang ti Chung-kuo jen - T'ai-wan hsiao-shuo ti fang-chu chu-t'i" 流浪的中國人：台灣小說的放逐主題 (The Wandering Chinese - The Theme of Exile in Taiwan Fiction) in Ming pao yüeh-k'an, No.121, II, 1, (January, 1976), p.153.

97 ibid.

political comment. Although the government rarely interfered with these new writers, "the shadow of censorship was always present."[98] With no one on which to model themselves, these writers turned increasingly to writers of the West and found their inspiration in Camus, Sartre, Kafka, Joyce and D.H. Lawrence, among others.[99]

Literary Review gave space to both new and well-known talent and to both mainlander and Taiwanese. After its closure in 1960, a new journal was founded by students of English at the National Taiwan University, entitled Hsien-tai wen-hsüeh 現代文學 (Modern Literature). Trained to appreciate, assess critically, and to translate Western literature, they set standards that were to influence an even younger generation of writers, mainly of Taiwanese descent, who were the products of an educational system conducted in the National Language.[100] It was from this group of "university writers"[101] that many went abroad to study.

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98 ibid. For further information on censorship, see Tozer, W. "Taiwan's Cultural Renaissance. A Preliminary View" in The China Quarterly, 43, (July/September, 1970), p.97. He says, "The government is 'omnipresent; artists and writers are closely watched and their works always subject to censorship."

99 See ACCL, Vol.2, Introduction to the Short Stories, p.3.

100 ibid., p.5.

101 Yü Kuang-chung, Preface in WHTH, p.7.

Some stayed to teach in foreign universities, whilst others returned home to promote the modern literature movement.

The Westernization of Fiction

If the modernization of poetry had resulted in some of it becoming obscure and unintelligible, the opposite could be said to be true of some of the serious fiction dealing with relations between men and women that began to emerge at about the same time. As we have already seen, yellow literature had all along been a cause for concern to the guardians of morality in the literary associations. A movement for the eradication of "the three evils", of which salacious literature was one, had been launched in 1954, but not with lasting results. As soon as the moral guardians were otherwise occupied, yellow literature was back on the market. But now it was not the writer of pulp fiction that was causing a ripple of unease in the literary arena, but the serious creative writer who was taking a long, hard look at the trend toward greater sexual outspokenness in European and American literature and in the motion pictures that were being shown in Taiwan, and was asking himself or herself whether the time was not ripe for a move away from the shackles of prudery towards a greater honesty when dealing with sexual relationships; whether in fact the reading public was not mature enough to be able to distinguish between realism in art and mere striving for cheap effects.

As in the West, no two people could agree on what constituted pornography; and what was considered offensive and repellent by some, was considered by others as essential for the proper understanding of a particular character in a work of fiction. In the early fifties, for example, the novelist Kung Sun-yen 公孫嬿,[102] who had started writing while in the armed forces, wrote a short story Hai ti shih nien chi 海的十年祭 (The Ten-yearly Sacrifice to the Sea) which was published in the literary supplement of Chung-yang jih-pao. His cousin, Su Hsüeh-lin, who wrote a foreword to the work, praised it for its artistic qualities, whereas others condemned it for being obscene.[103]

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102 Kung Sun-yen was born in Peking in 1923. He has studied at Fujen University and is a graduate of the Military Academy. He is at present with the Ministry of Defense. Among his works are, Yü chung hua 雨中花 (Rain-blossom); P'iao hsiang meng 飄香夢 (The Dream of Drifting Perfume); Lü-sen ti kao-ken-hsieh 綠色的高跟鞋 (The Green High-heeled Shoes), and Huo hsien shang 火線上 (In the Firing-line). Much of his early work is described as 'city stories'. See WIS, p.473.

103 See Sun Ch'i 孫旗 "Yu Hsin Suo shih-chien hsi-lun T'ai-wan wen-i-chieh ti feng-ch'i" 由「心鎖」事件析論台灣文藝界的風氣 (An Explanation of the Literary Climate in Taiwan based on The Lock of the Heart Affair) in Yü Chih-liang 余之良 ed. Hsin Suo chih lun-chan 心鎖之論戰 (The Lock of the Heart Controversy) (Taipei, 1963) p.24. The Ten-yearly Sacrifice to the Sea was published together with two other stories by Kung Sun-yen, in book form, by Tu-che shu-tien 讀者書店 in 1958. The story, which reads like a dream sequence, concerns the love of a young painter for a beautiful, experienced woman, ten years his senior, whom he has met while convalescing by the sea. There is much quoting, in English, of Burns, Wordsworth and Coleridge Taylor by the lovers. After a night of love the woman drowns herself

Although quite a few young writers like Yü Li-hua 於梨華[104] and Li Ang 李昂,[105] who were beginning to make their mark in the early sixties were to cause a fair amount of comment for being fairly explicit in their descriptions of the male - female relationship,[106] and although, under the influence of Freud, sex and sexual repression tended to dominate the world of such writers as Pai Hsien-yung 白先勇,[107] Wang Wen-hsing

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rather than face the prospect of losing her lover to a younger woman. Some readers might take exception to ten or eleven lines on pp. 22-23, but the short story can hardly be labelled as obscene.

104 Yü Li-hua, who was born in Shanghai in 1931, is a graduate of National Taiwan University. She went to the United States in 1953 for advanced studies at the University of California. After gaining an M.A. in 1956, she joined the staff of New York State University, teaching Chinese. She achieved recognition as a writer in 1962. Much of her work describes the lives of young Taiwanese intellectuals living in the United States. According to Pai Hsien-yung, no one in Taiwan can compare with Yü Li-hua when it comes to describing the Chinese in exile or the so-called 'rootless generation'. Among her works are K'ao yen 考驗 (The Test), Yeh shih ch'iu-t'ien 也是秋天 (Also Autumn), 1964; Yu chien tsung-lü, yu chien tsung-lü 又見棕櫚又見棕櫚 (Palm Trees, Oh, Palm Trees), 1967; Hui-ch'ang hsien-hsing chi 會場現形記 (Stories of Conferences), 1972.

105 Li Ang, short story writer, was born in Changhua, Taiwan, in 1952. He studied at the College of Chinese Culture in the early nineteen seventies. Among his works are, Hua chi 花季 (The Flowering Season; Hun sheng ho-ch'ang 混聲合唱 (Choir of Mixed Voices); and Mu-ch'un 莫春 (Mu-ch'un). It was the latter that was considered unnecessarily frank.

106 See Liu Shao-ming (Joseph Lau) 劉紹銘 "Shih nien lai T'ai-wan hsiao-shuo - i chiu liu wu - i chiu ch'i wu" 十年來台灣小說：一九六五/一九七五 (Taiwan Fiction over the Last Ten Years, 1965-1975), in Ming pao yüeh-k'an, No.121, II, 1, (January, 1976), p.150 and Pai Hsien-yung, op.cit., p.153.

王文興 [108] and Ou-yang Tzu 歐陽子, [109] it was not they, but Kuo Liang-hui 郭良蕙, [110] the well-established woman writer known for her sensitive portrayal of the female psyche, who was to bear the full brunt of the literary associations' displeasure because of her

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107 Pai Hsien-yung, born in Kweilin, Kwangsi, in 1937, is the son of General Pai Ch'ung-hsi 白崇禧. He began to write short stories while a student in the Foreign Languages Department of National Taiwan University. These were published in the Literary Review. With his classmate, Wang Wen-hsing he founded the journal Modern Literature in 1960. Upon graduation from National Taiwan University in 1961, he went to the United States and studied for his M.F.A. in the School for Writers, University of Iowa. He is now Associate Professor of Chinese at the University of California, Santa Barbara. He is considered one of the most accomplished of modern Chinese writers. Among his works are, Yu yüan ching-meng 遊園驚夢 (Wandering in the Garden and Awakening from a Dream), 1968; T'ai-pei jen 台北人 (Taipei Residents), 1971, and Niu-yüeh k'o 紐約客 (The New Yorkers), 1974. For an assessment of Taipei Residents, see Lau, Joseph, S.M., 'Crowded Hours Revisited: The Evocation of the Past in Taipei jen' in The Journal of Asian Studies, Vol.XXXV, No.1, (November, 1975), p.35.

108 Wang Wen-hsing was born in Fu-chou, Fukien, in 1930. He started to write whilst at National Taiwan University. He was co-founder of the journal Modern Literature. After receiving his B.A. degree, he went to the United States to the School for Writers, University of Iowa, where he gained an M.F.A. He is now Associate Professor of English at National Taiwan University. Wang Wen-hsing has developed a highly idiosyncratic style and is almost brutal in his desire to expose the defects of the human condition. This is evident in his first important nouvella, Lung t'ien lou 龍天樓 (Lung-t'ien Mansion), 1967, and in the short story, "Ming-yün ti chi-hsien 命運的迹線 (Line of Fate). His novel, Chia pien 家變 (Change in the Family), 1973, has made him a controversial figure because of his use of the language and the theme of confrontation between father and son. Newspapers and journals devoted much space specifically for the public discussion of this work.

outspokenness. She was to discover, to her cost, that the experiment of openness and frankness was not worth the problems it caused, as we shall see later.

An experiment of a different kind was a trying out of the "stream of consciousness" technique in the manner of James Joyce, and the imitation of the kinds of existentialism found in Sartre and Camus.

The introduction of the stream of consciousness technique posed no problems except in demanding more from the reader than conventional fiction. In fact, the technique was so successfully applied by, for example, the writer Shui Ching 水晶 [111] that he won a literary award for his short story 'Ai ti ling-ch'ih' 愛的凌遲 (The Dismemberment of Love), the reflections of a female patient as she lies in a hospital bed. This

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109 Ou-yang Tzu was born in Taiwan in 1939. She is a graduate of National Taiwan University where she specialized in English and English literature. She became deeply influenced by Henry James. Whilst a student she joined the group that supported the journal, Modern Literature; and she, too, subsequently went to the United States. She combines a cool precision of language with a lack of drama and sentimentality. Among her works are, "Mo nü" 魔女 (Perfect Mother), 1971, and "Hua-p'ing" 花瓶 (The Vase), 1971.

110 Kuo Liang-hui's biographical details will appear in the chapter concerning her novel, The Lock of the Heart.

111 Shui Ching, essayist and short story writer, was born in Nan-t'ung, Kiangsu, in 1935. After graduating from the Foreign Languages Department of National Taiwan University he went to the School for Writers, University of Iowa. Among his collections of short stories are, Ch'ing-se ti cha-meng 青色的蚱蜢 (Green Grasshoppers) and P'ao chuan chi 拋磚記 (Cast a Brick).

work together with "Mei-yu lien ti jen" 沒有臉的人 (The Faceless Man), modelled on Joyce's Ulysses, were described as being like "two orchids in a ravine"[112] as far as the literary scene of the day was concerned.

The stream of consciousness technique, which was tried by writers on the mainland in the thirties,[113] was new to the Taiwan reader and, as a consequence, a fairly detailed and lengthy explanation of its origins and history was given in the Chung-yang jih-pao on May 24, 1962.

New techniques were on the whole welcomed as a means of injecting new life into literature; but new techniques were one thing, and philosophies like existentialism and nihilism, and artistic trends like surrealism quite another. These ways of looking at life seemed to be opposed to all that the Fighting Literature Movement stood for. Maybe the West, it was argued, could afford such luxuries as "emptiness", "the absurd", "nausea" and "anxiety",[114] but a people poised on the brink of counter-attack could ill afford the pessimism and negativism embodied in the works of the young writers who were "spellbound"[115] by these

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112 Wei Tzu-yün 委魏子雲 "Hsien-tai hsiao-shuo yü hsin-li miao-hsieh - chien-t'an 'Mei-yu lien ti jen'" 現代小說與心理描寫：兼談「沒有臉的人」 (Modern Fiction and the Portrayal of the Psyche - On 'The Faceless Man'), in Chung-yang jih-pao, May, 1962.

113 See Hsia, C.T., op.cit., p.136.

114 TCML, p.5.

"imported"[116] ideas.

Because of its popularity, fiction reached more people than any other genre, and for this reason the Fighting Literature Movement had stressed the importance of fiction as a means of educating the public. Some of the movement's supporters, therefore, were dismayed that there were writers who seemed to be undermining the work they were trying to do. Others, however, did not see this type of fiction having quite the devastating effects predicted because the Taiwan reading public generally was not sufficiently "advanced"[117] to appreciate this kind of writing. Further, the exponents of these ideas from the West were but a handful, they said.[118]

Having opened the doors for Western literature, however, whether of the more modern or avant garde variety, as introduced by Modern Literature, or chiefly of the nineteenth and early twentieth century kind, as introduced by Young Lions' Literature,[119] it would have been surprising if there had been no response at all. The differences in approach to Western literature as between these two magazines lay in the fact that the

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115 Liu Shao-ming, op.cit., p.145.

116 ibid.

117 TCML, p.20.

118 ibid.

119 See YSWI, Nos. 1,2,9-13,16,19,24,28,30,33,34, in which such writers as Dickens, Maupassant, Dostoevsky and Pasternak are discussed.

former was published by students and graduates of the National Taiwan University who took a keen interest in the current literary trends in the European and American scene, whilst the latter, an organ of The Chinese Youth Writers' Association, was more concerned to provide examples from proven and acknowledged masters of their craft, regardless of the period to which they belonged. It was the style, form and technique for which the European and American writers were introduced, not content and tone. What was envisaged was a thorough knowledge of the Chinese literary tradition coupled with the acquisition of the literary craftsmanship exhibited in the best of foreign writing. From such a basis one could go on "to create in the manner traditional to China."[120] In other words, having learnt one's craft from the best of both worlds, one could go on to create something uniquely Chinese.

By leaning so far West and by denying their Chinese selves, wrote one critic in 1957, writers were in danger of cutting themselves off from the broad spectrum of society and producing a literature for the elite. If literature was to move in any direction at all, it should move towards the farmer, the worker, the schools, the armed forces. In fact, it should reach into every

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120 Hsiang T'ui-chieh 項退結, "Tang-tai 當代 Chung-kuo wen-i wang na-li ch'ü?" 中國文藝往那裡去? (Where is Current Chinese Literature going?), in Hsien-tai hsüeh-yüan 現代學苑 (The Modern Literary World), Vol.2, No.7, (Taipei, 1964), p.246.

corner of society, meeting the needs, not just of one section of the community, but all sections. It could only do that, he held, if it recognized traditional values and, instead of superimposing Western ideas on a Chinese society, it stressed such virtues as loyalty, filial piety, benevolence, charity, righteousness and peace. Preoccupation with the individual's emotional mechanism in literature was having a detrimental effect on public morale. That literature should "face the present"[121] in diction, form and content, was perfectly acceptable, for, as the literature of one dynasty had been different from that of another, so the literature of today was bound to be different from that of the past. But the heavy stress on individualism, personal pleasure and passion, as imported from Europe and the United States via their translated literature, with the concommitant Westernization of Chinese writing in tone and theme, he said, "is not appropriate coming from the pens of us Chinese."[122]

Writing along similar lines two years later, Mu Chung-nan, editor of Literature Forum, also voiced his concern over the manner in which literature in Taiwan was being submerged by the West. Reviewing the type of literature that had come down through the centuries

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121 Ma Pi 馬壁, "Tang-ch'ien wen-i yün-tung ti fang-hsiang" 當前文藝運動的方向 (The Present Direction of the Literature Movement), in WT, No.1, (November, 1957, p.7.

122 ibid., p.8.

in China, Mu pointed to the religious short stories, the tales of the supernatural, the social satires, the love poems and the historical novels which testify to a long tradition of superb storytelling, but which the May Fourth Movement with its importation of foreign ideas put completely in the shade. It was high time, Mu said, that writers return to their literary heritage, and instead of "plagiarizing the externals of Western fiction and neglecting one's own country's coloration" (se-ts'ai 色彩),[123] they should turn out a literature more truly Chinese.

The Call for Unity

From the observation point of those who were committed to the idea that literature and military might were but two sides of the same coin, and that the one should complement the other,[124] it must have appeared as if writers were pulling in a dozen different directions at once from the middle fifties on, and that instead of exercising self-discipline and self-censorship in the interests of the nation, writers seemed bent on pursuing their own individual inclinations. A reminder of the seriousness of their roles as writers was therefore addressed to the China Association of

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123 Mu Chung-nan, "Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo fa-chan ti yen-chiu" 中國小說發展的研究 (A Study on the Development of Chinese Fiction), in WT, No.5, (October, 1959), p.7.

124 Ma Pi, op.cit., p.7.

Literature and Art by Chiang Kai-shek on May 2, 1960.

"Literature is the avant-coureur by which national policies are publicized; it is the instrument whereby psychological warfare is launched," he said. He then went on to observe that the thought-reform, rectification of literature and brainwashing carried out by the Communists went against human nature and freedom. Literary workers, he pointed out, held a sacred position and had a divine responsibility in consequence of which they should employ creative writing in all its forms to expose what the Communists were up to; to refute the Communists' fallacious arguments and to be champions of justice. As the battle against Communism at the present moment was a cultural and ideological battle, it was imperative that Chinese arm themselves with the might of the spirit and the power of morality. Of supreme importance was the revitalization of the traditional culture of the nation and the defence of tradition.

> "I hope," he went on, "that you, gentlemen, will have this as your objective: to elevate the diction of literary products; to give real substance to the contents of your writing; to strive in such a way that it enters deeply into men's minds so that it stirs up the spirit of the nation and galvanizes the power to fight, thereby making an even greater contribution in the enormous task of opposing Communism and resisting Russia."[125]

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125 Extract reprinted in Chao Tzu-fan 趙滋蕃, T'an wen lun i 談文論藝 (On Literature), San Min Wen k'u 三民文庫 Series, No.46, (Taipei, 1969), p.78.

Activities of A Non-literary Kind

Hand in hand with the literary creativity that was taking place from the middle fifties onwards were activities of a different nature, namely, those undertaken by the literary associations for and on behalf of fellow-writers or in liaison with the government. For example, on November 2, 1957, The China Association of Literature and Art threw a welcoming party for a couple and a young girl who had "fought their way out through the iron-curtain",[126] and, with a delegation from the Hong Kong cultural world, discussed with them the situation regarding literature, drama and films on the mainland. On August 23, 1958, the General Political Department of the Ministry of Defense invited The China Association of Literature and Art's Frontline Visiting Mission, a group composed of 17 writers, to visit Kinmen (Quemoy) Island as it was under fire from the Chinese mainland at that time.[127] On their return, they described their experiences in a special issue of the journal Ko-ming wen-i 革命文藝 (Revolutionary Literature). Their observations were subsequently published by The China Association of Literature and Art in a special volume entitled, Ching yü teng 井與燈

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126 WINC, p.315.

127 According to China Yearbook 1959-60, (p.678), the Battle of the Taiwan Straits began on August 23, 1958, with the Communists firing some 41,000 rounds of shells in the space of two hours.

(The Well and The Lamp).[128] The visit to Kinmen by these 17 writers resulted in a meeting being held in October between the China Association of Literature and Art, the director of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang and representatives of the armed forces for the express purpose of finding out how best the writers' associations could give moral support to the men stationed on Kinmen and Matsu. The meeting ended with the passing of a resolution to send messages of support to the officers and men and literary workers in the front line; to activate the association's members into donating books and journals for their use; to visit the wounded in hospitals in Taiwan; to act as hosts to war correspondents on their return from Kinmen and Matsu, and to arrange with the broadcasting stations for programmes expressing support and concern to be broadcast to the front line.[129]

On a more personal level was the meeting that took place on July 19, 1959, between seven writers, four of which were on the board of directors of The China Association of Literature and Art, and Vice-President Ch'en Ch'eng 陳誠. He questioned each writer about his own particular work; about the situation in the world of literature generally; on literary policy; about the possibility of establishing a literary agency

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128 See WINC, p.321.

129 ibid., p.322.

and a centre for literary research; on the export of literature and art to other countries, and on the vexed question of pirating. Pirating was an abuse that had been spreading over the years, so much so that not even Taiwan's writers were safe from having their work "stolen" by unscrupulous publishers. The Copyright Act of 1918 and 1944 had so far failed to give the writer adequate protection and ways were being sought for tightening up the law and stopping up the loop-holes. The meeting between the writers and the Vice-President ended with the Vice-President reminding them of the part literature had to play at a time of counterattack; of its importance as a means of raising morale and seeking popular support when victory was won, and in increasing international understanding. He urged writers to work hard and to let their views be known at any time as they related to the protection of the rights and privileges of the writers.[130]

This meeting was to have important consequences, for on October 24, 1959, the Ministry of the Interior invited a group of writers and key members of the cultural world to discuss the Copyright Act and its amendment; and on November 4, the Central Committee for Propaganda Work of the Kuomintang held a symposium in order to share its views with writers regarding literary work and ways and means of putting a stop to the

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[130] ibid., p.310.

pirating of books. As a result of these meetings, the Copyright Act was amended; pirating became illegal, and the police were empowered to search bookshops and stalls and to confiscate any book that was pirated. The search for pirated books also gave the police the opportunity to seize reading matter that was considered obscene. According to one observer, this action marked "the second round in the Cultural Purification Movement."[131]

Literature Awards

To commemorate the 10th anniversay of the founding of The China Association of Literature and Art, the Association instituted its own literature award in 1960. The first four winers of the award were the well-known woman writer and one of the founders of The Taiwan Women Writers' Association, Chang Hsiu-ya; the "military" novelist, Yang Nien-ts'u 楊念慈;[132] the translator, Shih Ts'ui-feng 施翠峰, and the novelist, essayist and literary critic, Wang Ting-chün 王鼎鈞.[133] The award

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131 ibid., p.312.

132 Yang Nien-ts'u was born in Ch'eng-wu, Shantung in 1916. He joined the army and became a Company Commander. He has seen much action and this is reflected in his novels. Since arriving in Taiwan he has been editor of Tzu-yu ch'ing-nien 自由青年 (Free Youth) and he has taught at Taiwan Provincial Chung-hsing Middle School. Apart from winning the China Association of Literature and Art's Literature Award he won the Education Department's literature award in 1969. Among his works are, Lo jih 落日 (The Setting Sun); Shih chieh-mei 十姊妹 (The Ten Sisters); Chin Shih-tzu-chia 金十字架 (The Golden Cross), and Tzui jen 罪人 (The Criminal).

was given according to the following rules; that the writer must have followed his profession for at least ten years; that his work must have been influential, and that his writing had made an exceptional contribution to literature. As to his personal qualities, he had to be of excellent moral character; show academic excellence; not exceed forty-five years of age, and must be held in high regard by the majority of people.[134]

Other literature awards were instituted over the years by both government and private organizations in order to encourage artistic excellence. In 1965, for example, three different literature awards were instituted. First, the Cultural Bureau of the Ministry of Education established an annual literature award which consisted of a gold medal and a prize of N.T.$20,000. Secondly, The Chung Shan Cultural and Literary Foundation, set up in memory of Sun Yat-sen, offered an annual award for oustanding achievement. The award winner was presented with a citation, a plaque

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133 Wang Ting-chün was born in Lin-i, Shangtung, in 1926. He left school before completing middle school and joined the army. In Taiwan he was first involved in editorial work on Sao-tang pao and Kun-lun pao. In 1966 he became editor-in-chief of Cheng-hsin hsin-wen pao 徵信新聞報. Not only does Wang Ting-chün write essays, short stories and novels, but he writes television plays, film reviews and book reviews. Among his works are, collections of essays, Jen-sheng kuan-ch'a 人生觀察 (Observations on Life) 1965; and Ch'ing-jen yen 情人眼(Lovers' Eyes), 1970, and a collection of short stories, Tan-shen-han ti t'i-wen 單身漢的體溫 (The Bachelor's Temperature), 1970.

134 See WINC, pp.371-372.

and a cash prize of N.T.$50,000. Thirdly, the Chia Hsin 嘉新 Cement Corporation established a cultural and literary foundation in response to an appeal from literary circles for support from industry. Apart from issuing awards for literary achievement, the Corporation also gave grants in order to enable talented young people to study abroad. The winners of the above awards are published regularly in the China Yearbook.

In the armed forces awards paralleling those given to civilian writers were instituted also in 1965. And, as we have seen earlier, some of the poetry societies issued their own awards.[135]

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[135] See TCML, p.38 and the various China Yearbooks from 1966 on.

CHAPTER SIX

The East-West Controversy: The Question of 'Wholesale Westernization', February 1962 - June 1964, and The Problem of Li Ao

"Modernization seems to be a term applicable only to Non-European countries, which experienced a radical kind of transformation under the Western impact. 'Modernization' was, in a large measure, Westernization. It has been assumed that it was synonymous with 'Westernization.'" So wrote Shoichi Saeki in his article, "The Role of Western Literature in the Modernization of Japan."[1]

If this was true of Japan, it was equally true of China, for much of the nineteen twenties and thirties was spent in debates concerning the validity and viability of the Chinese tradition in a modern world. The debates of those decades were by no means new; they were really a continuation of a controversy that had begun between reformers and traditionalists when China was forced to undergo a long period of self-examination after suffering defeat at the hands of

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[1] Saeki, Shoichi, "The Role of Western Literature in the Modernization of Japan", in Thirty Years of Turmoil in Asian Literature, Lectures delivered at the Fourth Asian Writers' Conference, April 25 - May 2, 1976 in Taipei and published by The Taipei Chinese Center, International P.E.N. (year of publication not given), p.188.

foreign powers in the middle of the nineteenth century.[2] After the overthrow of the Ch'ing dynasty and the founding of the republic, the controversy gathered momentum and reached a climax in the May Fourth Movement when every aspect of life in China came under scrutiny. Old tenets and practices, systems of government and social institutions were questioned and found wanting; and a clean sweep was advocated so as to allow China to take her place among the progressive nations of the world.[3]

Such ideas were, of course, not allowed to go unchallenged. But none of the arguments from whichever side was to receive a categorical answer until, as far as mainland China was concerned, they were all subsumed under Communism, after which there was no room for argument.

In Taiwan, however, the controversy broke out afresh in 1962, although, as we have already seen, the world of literature had been forced to face the issue of Westernization a good deal earlier. The East-West Controversy, as it came to be called, was at first hailed as a sign that intellectual life had not stagnated in Taiwan;[4] but as old wounds were re-opened and

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2 See, for example, de Bary, William Theodore, Chan Wing-tsit, Watson, Burton, Sources of Chinese Tradition, (New York, Columbia University Press, 1960), p.663 ff.

3 ibid., p.814 ff. and Chow Tse-tsung, op.cit., pp. 13-15.

4 In Hong Kong T'ien-wen-t'ai 天文臺 (The Observatory), No.2056, (April, 1962) discussed the controversy in

attacks grew ever more bitter and personal, and as the respective antagonists sued and counter-sued for libel, exhilaration turned to distress. People watched with dismay as the debate was brought to an end by legal and political means, with neither side having scored a victory over the other.[5]

Just as he had triggered the Literary Revolution some forty-five years earlier and had been the cause of heated debate on account of his advocacy of wholesale Westernization for China during the thirties,[6] so Hu Shih sparked off the East-West Controversy with a speech delivered, in English, before the East Asian Science Education Conference in Taipei on November 6, 1961. In his speech entitled, "Social Changes Necessary for the Growth of Science," Hu Shih said that in order to pave the way for the development of science and to be receptive to the modern civilization of science and technology, the peoples of the East had to revise or "revolutionize" their thinking. One of the main obstacles to change, he asserted, was the deeply-held

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an article entitled "Lun T'ai-wan ti wen-hua lun-chan - che shih cheng-chih fan-kung pi-ching ti chieh-tuan" 論臺灣的文化論戰：這是政治反攻必經的階段 (On the Controversy on Culture in Taiwan - a Necessary Stage in Political Counter-attack). See Li Ao 李敖 Wen-hua lun-chan tan-huo lu 文化論戰丹火錄 (A Record of the Ordeal of the Controversies on Culture), Wen hsing ts'ung-k'an 文星叢刊 69, 2nd edit., (Hong Kong, 1972), p.39.

5 See Mei Wen-li, op.cit., p.128, and Tozer, op.cit., p.90.

6 See, Kwok, D.W. Scientism in Chinese Thought 1900-1950 (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1965),

belief that the East was somehow superior to the West because of its spirituality - its "spiritual civilization." The traditionalists, Hu Shih said, maintained that because the West was materialistic, anything from the West, including science and technology, was to be resisted at all cost. Hu Shih then set out to show that there was very little idealism or spirituality in some of the social practices or superstitions of the East. Nor was there much spirituality about when man cowered before nature instead of conquering it. In his opinion, a civilization which did not utilize man's intelligence to harness nature; which did not improve man's living conditions and which felt helpless before matter, had to be classified, not as a "spiritual", but as a "materialistic civilization". As far as he could see, the term "materialistic civilization" could more appropriately be applied to "the backward civilizations of the old world" than to the West. As for idealism or spirituality, if it was to be found anywhere he said, it was to be found in the selfless dedication to the search for "Truth" by scientists through the ages. It was important to recognize, Hu Shih continued, that the new civilization of science and technology was not something being foisted on the East by the West. Nor was it "a material civilization of materialistic

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p.20. Hu Shih later modified his stance and talked, instead, of "whole-hearted modernization."

people in the West," but it was one of the greatest spiritual achievements of mankind. The time had come to take another look at the old civilizations of the East and the modern scientific and technological civilization of the West. Without a fresh appraisal, a critical evaluation, Hu Shih said, science and technology, instead of being accepted with sincerity and enthusiasm, would be seen as having no intrinsic value and be regarded as something to be endured rather than enjoyed. Furthermore, if the philosophy of the civilization of science and technology was not accepted, then science would never be able to put down deep roots in the East, nor would the peoples of the East feel at ease in the new world.[7]

Hu Shih's speech, translated into Chinese as "K'o-hsüeh fa-chan so hsü-yao ti she-hui kai-ko" 科學發展所需要的社會改革 was printed in the December 雜誌 the literary journal, Wen-hsing tsa-chih 文星雜誌 (Literary Star; also known as Apollo Review). Hu Shih's lecture was nowhere near as provocative as the articles he had written in his youth regarding the so-called "spiritual civilization" of the East and the

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[7] See, Hu Shih, Li Chi 李濟, Mao Tzu-shui 毛子水 Hu Shih yü Chung Hsi wen-hua 胡適與中西文化 (Dr. Hu Shih and the Chinese and Western Cultures), Hsien-tai ch'ing-nien ts'ung-shu 現代青年叢書 No.6, (Taipei, Shui-niu ch'u-pan-she, 1967), pp. 261-266.

"materialistic civilization" of the West;[8] nevertheless, it brought a storm of protest from traditionalists and neo-traditionalists who took it to mean that he was advocating wholesale westernization.

There was by now a whole new generation of young intellectuals who endorsed Hu Shih's view. The most vociferous among them was the gifted young historian and research fellow at National Taiwan University, Li Ao 李敖.[9] Li Ao had never been abroad; nor had he ever "drunk foreign water,"[10] yet he joined forces with Hu Shih because he had come to the conclusion, through a close study of Chinese history, that the Chinese tradition was a hindrance to modernization and democracy.

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8 See, for example, "Wo-men tui-yü hsi-yang chin-tai wen-ming ti t'ai-tu" 我們對於西洋近代文明的態度 (Our Attitude toward Modern Western Civilization) in Hu Shih, op.cit., vol.3, pp. 1-15.

9 Li Ao was born in Harbin in 1935, but received his primary education in Peking and his secondary schooling in Shanghai. After his arrival in Taiwan he continued his secondary education in Taichung before entering National Taiwan University in Taipei where he studied law, history and literature. His work, Wei Chung-kuo szu-hsiang ch'ü-hsiang ch'iu ta-an 為中國思想趨向求答案 (In Search of an Answer to the Question as to Where Chinese Thought is Heading) had a great influence on young intellectuals who treated it as their Bible. At the time of the East-West controversy, Li Ao was editor-in-chief of the Literary Star and as a consequence the controversy received full coverage. Li Ao wrote extensively on all manner of topics; he also considered himself something of a literary critic. Intellectuals in Hong Kong have followed his career with great interest and after his imprisonment for allegedly supporting the Taiwan Independence Movement have had his works reprinted in Hong Kong.

In an article entitled, "Kei t'an Chung Hsi wen-hua ti jen k'an-k'an ping" 給談中西文化的人看看病 (A Diagnosis of Those People who Talk about Chinese and Western Culture) and printed in Literary Star on February 1, 1962, Li Ao suggested that the Chinese people should "move in the direction of the science, democracy and modernity of the West, and turn away from tradition, conservatism and reaction."[11] He then went on to denounce those whom he maintained had stood in the way of China's modernization process. Li Ao was not a man to mince his words, nor was he inclined to be tactful. The article consequently drew immediate response from many differing quarters. Letters were written to Li Ao personally, either condemning him for his stand and the manner in which he expressed it, or pledging support. Needless to say, many of the graduates and students at the University saw him as something of a hero. Following his lead, they rushed into print and started advocating wholesale westernization.[12]

Hu Shih's death in February, 1962, did not have a restraining effect on the debate. On the contrary, it

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10 Li Ao, Ch'uan-t'ung hsiah ti tsai-pai 傳統下的再白 (Vindicated by Tradition), Li Ao kao-pie wen-t'an shih shu chih liu (The Sixth of Ten books in Which Li Ao Takes Leave of the Literary World), (publisher and publishing date unknown), p.40.

11 Li Ao, Wen-hua lun-chan tan-huo lu, p.3.

12 See, Mei Wen-li, op.cit., p.128.

accelerated the controversy; and the issue of whether China should accept wholesale westernization or not grew into an islandwide controversy. At least fourteen different journals and daily papers in Taiwan and at least eight journals in Hong Kong began to carry articles, either on Li Ao's essay itself or on the issues raised by his essay.[13]

Although Li Ao maintained that he found it all rather "surprising",[14] he appeared to relish being centre-stage, and a series of articles dealing with Chinese and Western culture issued from his pen to be printed in Literary Star in fairly rapid succession.

The gist of Li Ao's argument was that China's traditional culture was dead, and that a dead culture belonged to the past; it was a museum piece, fit only for study by cultural historians. Even those elements of the Chinese tradition that could be considered to have some merit could not be grafted on to the present living society. To try to do so would be rather like trying to repair a small wrist-watch with parts taken from an old wall-clock. Neither "science" nor "democracy" could be found in traditional culture; only "spiritualism" and "dogma". China's traditional culture therefore paved the way for dogmatic Communism. The strong nations of the world that, scientifically

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[13] See, Li Ao, Wen-hua lun-chan tan-huo lu, pp. 4-5.
[14] ibid., p.5.

and democratically, were in the lead, did not allow themselves to be burdened by a five thousand year old culture. China, he said, was forever trailing behind the strong nations of the world. (Here Li Ao uses the somewhat coarse colloquialism: behind the "arse" of the strong countries.)[15] If the Chinese people wanted to catch up with the "lively"[16] people of the West, they would have to stop carrying around "the ice-cold, stinking corpse of the East."[17] That national traits are different was just another myth; and the argument for a fusion of the good points of East and West was nothing more than an excuse for refusing to face facts. There was just one course open to the Chinese people, and that was "to hurry up and discard the dead culture of tradition" and, "having got one's priorities right, to hurry up and learn from the modern culture of the West."[18]

Reactions to Li Ao

Li Ao's remarks may have found favour with intellectuals of his own generation who saw him as fearless and defiantly outspoken, but the conservatives and the traditionalists considered his language highly offensive. His essays were said to "sting like [a cut from] a sharp knife."[19] and he was reputed to have a

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15 ibid., p.7.
16 ibid.
17 ibid.

tendency to "call people names just for the sake of doing so."[20] He was accused of maligning at least fifty-seven different personages from Confucius down to the present-day Confucian philosopher, Ch'ien Mu 錢穆 ;[21] and his remarks were not limited, by any means, to the East-West controversy. He was considered to be brilliant, but somewhat self-opinionated and arrogant. He seemed to delight in catching people out in some inaccuracy, as in the case of Hu Ch'iu-yüan 胡秋原 ,[22] a member of the Legislative Yüan, who had given the impression in his historical account of the

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18 ibid.

19 Hua Wen-yung 華文湧 , "Hsiao Lun Po Yang" 小論柏楊 (On Po Yang) in Sun Kuan-han 孫觀漢, Po Yang ho ta ti yüan-yü 柏楊和他的冤獄 (Po Yang and His Wrongful Imprisonment), (Hong Kong, Wen-i shu-u, 1974), p.221.

20 ibid.

21 Ch'ien Mu, who was born in Kiangsu province in 1895, is a scholar known for his works on Chinese philosophy and intellectual history. He is a Confucianist who is re-interpreting Confucianism for an age in which it has been divorced from its old institutional expressions. He was one of the founders of New Asia College in Hong Kong; and from 1951 to 1965 he was its president.

22 Hu Ch'iu-yüan, born in 1910, was educated at Wuchang University from 1925 to 1927, and Waseda University, Japan from 1929 to 1931. He was secretary of Supreme National Defense Council from 1938 to 1945 as well as editorial writer for the Chung-yang jih-pao from 1942 to 1945. After the war he was professor of history and professor of philosophy at Chinan and Futan Universities respectively. At the time of the East-West Controversy he was research fellow in the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica.

Fukien Revolt[23] in 1933 that his part in it had been incidental. Li Ao, there is little doubt, could be quite "cruel"[24] in his attacks.

Although those who were at the receiving end of Li Ao's biting sarcasm maintained that he seemed "to specialize in slander",[25] epithets which they hurled at him were no less choice than those he flung at them. He was referred to as "a cultural delinquent;" "the wholesale westernizer"; "the anti-cultural traditionalist"; "the traitors' slave", and "little made dog",[26] the last cropping up with recurring frequency.

The Division into Factions

The participants in the East-West Controversy had quickly divided into three factions; the traditionalists; the westernizers, and "the transcendentalists"[27] (ch'ao-yüeh pai 超越派) who adopted a syncretic approach to the problem.

The pro-Western faction saw the solution to the problem of modernization to be as important as the question of "counterattack" or "mainland recovery".

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23 The Fukien Revolt was launched by a group of Nationalist dissidents in November, 1933. It was quickly crushed by Chiang Kai-shek because it did not receive the support it expected from the Communists and from other groups similarly disenchanted with the government. See Clubb, Edmund. O., Twentieth Century China (New York, London, Columbia University Press, 1964), pp. 183,200-201.

24 Hua Wen-yung, op.cit., p.221.

25 Editorial in Cheng-chih p'ing-lun 政治評論 (Political Commentary), Vol.13, No.1 (February, 1965), reprinted in Li Ao, Ch'uan-t'ung hsiah ti tsai-pai, p.49.

"Counterattack" was important for the future of the nation, but westernization, particularly the wholesale acceptance of scientific ideas, it argued, had an equal significance for the future of the Chinese people.

The traditionalists countered by saying that the pro-Western faction seemed to be blind to certain aspects of Western culture which the Chinese people could well do without. It seemed to adopt the attitude that science, technology and democracy were the cure-all for China's problems, whereas, if events and developments in the West were anything to go by, they had led to social disruption, broken homes and juvenile delinquency. This apart, China was no longer a colony, yet those who pressed for wholesale westernization seemed to display a "colonial mentality" which expressed itself in "mimicry" and "parrotism" instead of in "originality" and "creativeness."[28]

As one who in his poetry had solved for himself the problem of modernization within a Chinese framework, Yü Kuang-chung published an article on August 1, 1962, in Literary Star, the journal which became the major forum for much of the debate,[29] entitled "Ying Chung-kuo

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[26] ibid., p.39,40.

[27] Li Ao, Wen-hua lun-chan tan-huo lu, p.39.

[28] Hu Ch'iu-yüan, "Chui-szu Hu Shih-chih hsien-sheng chuan-hao" 追思胡適之先生專號 (Special Issue Commemorating Hu Shih) in Wen hsing, No.53, March, 1962; reprinted in Li Ao, Wen-hua lun-chan tan-huo lu, pp. 17-25.

[29] See Mei Wen-li, op.cit., p.128.

ti wen-i fu-hsing" 迎中國的文藝復興 (We Welcome the Renaissance of Chinese Literature). Yü started off by referring to the fact that Hu Shih had died shortly after the controversy had begun; that Li Ao had become the spokesman for the new generation of young intellectuals, and that he was earning a reputation for "mercilessly exposing quite a few old fogies" and "toppling a few idols from their lofty niches."[30] However, since Yü held that there were no simple answers or quick solutions to the problems raised, he deplored the level to which the controversy had descended. He agreed, he said, with those who maintained that it was not a question of China becoming westernized so much as China becoming modernized. This particular kind of controversy, he intimated, had special significance for Free China because, for her, it was a question of continued survival and not an academic exercise. Of those of his acquaintances who were of the May Fourth vintage, there were quite a few who appreciated Li Ao for his courage and for the forcefulness of his writing, and there could be little doubt that Li Ao's views were shared by many of the younger generation.

> China's heart disease is already serious enough. [continued Yü Kuang-chung] What we need are young people who are courageous and sincere; we don't want conforming hypocrites who merely repeat what others have said. From the unassuming to the conceited; from those in the foreign

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30 See, Li Ao, Wen-hua lun-chan tan-huo lu, pp. 153-156.

> agencies to those in provincial associations; from those in the Confucius and Mencius Societies to those in training-classes; from those who play bingo to those who play mahjong, our present generation of young people is melancholy and precocious. The nerve of China's young has long since become paralysed; their tongues have long since stiffened. And as for the old chaps of May Fourth, the majority are too suave, and have too little vim and aggressiveness.
>
> If the cultural world does not produce another Li Ao or the world of art does not yield another Hsü Ch'ang-hui 許常惠,[31] or a Liu Kuo-sung 劉國松,[32] then China will truly become a mummified mummy.[33]

As far as the present controversy on culture was concerned, Yü reminded his readers that a similar controversy attended the modern literature movement some five to six years earlier; and as literature and art were major components of culture, the present East-West Controversy could be said to have been foreshadowed by the earlier one; in other words, the rest of the cultural world was only now catching up with what had been taking place in the realm of literature and art. At that time, poetry, for example, had been divided into old and new. Painting had been classified as either Chinese- or Western-styled. And music, the controversy over which was still raging, had been described as either Chinese or Western. In no other field was the battle so fierce between the traditionalists and the westernizers as in the field of music. The difficulty

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[31] Hsü Ch'ang-hui is a painter of modern abstract art.

[32] Liu Kuo-sung is a painter of modern abstract art.

[33] Li Ao, Wen-hua lun-chan tan-huo lu, p.155.

said Yü, was that one could not apply the same criteria to the judging of literature and art as one could to the judging of the relative efficacy of Chinese medicine over against Western medicine. If the one did not cure, you could turn to the other; but the same was not true of literature and art, and for that reason a battle between East and West "was unprofitable."[34]

Unprofitable or not, the argumentation over modern poetry, abstract painting and modern music went on and generated a considerable amount of heat. At the time of writing this article the controversy over poetry had more or less come to an end; abstract painting was still being debated; and the full force of the controversy on music was still to be felt.

What Yü Kuang-chung was looking forward to was, however, the day when "modern poetry is just poetry; occidental painting is just painting; and occidental music, just music; when all forms of art are not divided into Chinese art or Western art, but each form enters wholly into our country's tradition...."[35] Then, and only then, could modern Chinese literature and art be said to have gained its rightful position; and only then could the renaisssance of Chinese literature and art truly have started. When that happened, "... the traditional will come alive, and the living will, as a matter of course, flow into the common

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[34] ibid., p.155.

[35] ibid., p.156.

stream of tradition."[36] Writers of modern literature were not acting rashly, Yü ended his article, but they were in all seriousness being selective and effecting a compromise.

If Yü had hoped to be judged purely on the validity or otherwise of his opinions, he was to be disappointed. His comments were quickly interpreted in terms of his and others' personal loyalties. Some of his friends took him to task for "supporting"[37] Li Ao, and others suggested that Yü would like to retain his Chinese heritage but that he was afraid of what Li Ao might say. If supporting Li Ao meant accepting wholesale westernization, then Yü was not Li Ao's man, for, as we have seen, nowhere did he go along with the idea of wholesale westernization of literature and art. On the contrary, he was one of the few modern poets who had stressed the importance of a writer's national identity, and he clearly believed in maintaining a balance between selective and indiscriminate westernization.[38] In his mind this did not contradict his stated preference for a literature which carried no labels. The fact, however, that Yü had described Li Ao as the spokesman for the new generation of young intellectuals and that he had suggested that China's culture would stagnate unless there were people like

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[36] ibid.

[37] ibid.

[38] See ACCL, Vol.1, Introduction to the Poems, p.4.

Li Ao around to "nip the old cultural dog into bestirring itself"[39] did suggest to the traditionalists that Yü Kuang-chung was leaning heavily in Li Ao's direction, and they were in no mood to look at his statement objectively and dispassionately.

The controversy dragged on for two years during which Li Ao had so succeeded in antagonizing people that the mere mention of his name was sufficient to make them lose their equanimity. For example, a discussion on literary criticism held at the Armed Forces' Art and Literature Activities Centre in Taipei on November 14, 1965, at which such seasoned writers as Wei Tzu-yün 魏子雲,[40] Chao Tzu-fan 趙滋蕃,[41] Szu-ma Chung-yüan 司馬中原,[42] and Wang Chi-ts'ung, among others, were present, started innocuously enough

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39 Li Ao, Wen-hua lun-chan tan huo lu, p.154.

40 Wei Tzu-yün, novelist and essayist, was born in the province of Anhwei in 1919. He joined the army during the Sino-Japanese War. Over a twenty year period he held both military and civilian positions. Among his publications are a collection of tsa-wen, Hsi t'an 戲談 (In Jest); a collection of short stories, Pan chia 搬家 (Moving House), and Hsiao-shuo chih yen-tu 小說之演讀 (The Perusal of Fiction).

41 Chao Tzu-fan, novelist, essayist and literary theorist, was born in Honan province in 1924. He is a graduate of National Honan University. He was at one time editor of Asia Publishing Company in Hong Kong. In Taiwan he has been chief editorial writer of Chung-yang jih-pao. Among his publications are the novels Pan hsia-liu she hui 半下流社會 (Semi-low Society); Pan shang-liu she-hui 半上流社會 (Semi-high Society), Mi yüeh (Honeymoon), and T'an wen lun i 談文論藝 (On Literature).

with an air of optimism over the fact that there appeared to be a certain amount of healthy criticism on literature in the literary journals and newspaper supplements. However, when mention was made of Li Ao's review in the Literary Star of the young woman writer, Ch'iung Yao's 瓊瑤[43] novel, Ch'uang wai 窗外 (Outside the Window), which had come off the press in 1963, the temperature rose considerably. Li Ao, these writers maintained, instead of confining his comments to the novel in question, had used it as a springboard for launching an attack on the world of literature as a whole. Li Ao had, in fact, started off by parodying the title of the novel by entitling his review "Mei-yu ch'uang, na yu 'Ch'uang wai'?" 沒有窗，哪有「窗外」? (If There is No

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42 Szu-ma Chung-yüan was born in Kiangsu province in 1933. He enlisted in the army when he was sixteen and he came over to Taiwan in 1949. His novel, Huang Yüan 荒原 (The Wasteland), published in 1961 was the first of many novels. He has at least thirty works of fiction to his credit. The simple heroes of his novels who avert disaster through physical prowess or personal magnetism have great appeal, and he has won two literary awards: the All-China Young People's Literature Award in 1963 and the Department of Education's Literature Award in 1968. Two of his short stories are to be found, in English, in ACCL, Vol.2, pp. 175-233.

43 Ch'iung Yao, novelist and short story writer, was born in Hunan province in 1938. Her first novel, Outside the Window, concerning the love-affair between a senior middle school (Form 3) girl and her forty-four year old teacher, was something of a sensation, not because of its literary qualities, but because it was considered daring. Ch'iung Yao went on to write a further fourteen novels and three collections of short stories.

Window, How can You have an Outside the Window?)[44] He had then gone on to say that the Chinese literary arena was like a dark-room. The significant thing about a dark-room was that it had no windows; consequently, the air was heavy and stagnant, and people stumbled, fumbled and groped their way around. Packed into this windowless room, Li Ao had said, were different types of writers like "the new eight-legged essayists," "the mandarin duck and butterfly school," (writers of cheap love stories); "the neo-classicists:" "the old modernists;" "the whiners," and "the soap opera school," etc.[45] Li Ao had listed ten different types according to the way they wrote or the themes they specialized on. He had then said that he felt sorry for them all because they lacked "nourishment," "breadth of mind," and, most importantly, "the lamp of wisdom."[46] However, he, Li Ao, had come to let in a little light into this dark-room. Li Ao then proceeded to go through Ch'iung Yao's novel with a fine tooth-comb, listing every error, every repetition, every "unoriginal" four character phrase, as well as what he called incongruities in the story or faulty

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44 Li Ao, Ma li pu liao ni 媽離不了你 (Mother Will Never Leave You), Li Ao kao-pie wen-t'an shih shu chih san 李敖告別文壇十書之三 (The Third of Ten Books in Which Li Ao Takes Leave of the Literary World); (publisher and publishing date not given), p.5. The original was published in Wen hsing, No.93, July, 1965.

45 ibid, pp. 5-6.

46 ibid, p.7.

character development.[47] The memory of this review so increased Wei Tzu-yün's irritation with Li Ao that the general discussion was nearly sidetracked into a condemnation of Li Ao.

The kind of literary criticism proferred by Li Ao was,it seemed, too "strong" to be palatable, and they took exception to his so-called analysis of the literary scene. What puzzled one of the participants, Yang Wei 楊蔚 , a short story writer, was the fact that no literary critic at the time had come forward to challenge Li Ao's evaluation of Ch'iung Yao's novel or his assumptions regarding the literary scene. The only response in subsequent issues of Literary Star had come, rather ineffectually, from a young woman. What was wrong, Yang Wei complained, was that "... critics are far too silent; have far too little courage. If they have something to say, they don't dare say it. What they have to say, they keep to themselves, being unwilling to make their disclosures in case they offend someone."[48] And as for this general attack on writers in Taiwan, was there really not a single person "who dared assume the responsibility for offending Li Ao?"[49]

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47 From a Western point of view Li Ao's review was analytical, precise, although somewhat school-masterly. It does, however, in places verge on rudeness and contemptuousness.

48 Yang Wei, et al. "Tsen-yang chien-li yen-cheng ti wen-i p'i-p'ing" 怎樣建立嚴正的文藝批評 (On How to Establish a Serious Literary Criticism), in YSWI, Vol.23, No.6, (144), (December, 1965), p.81.

49 ibid.

The Solution to the Problem of Li Ao

It was inevitable that a man of Li Ao's temperament should cross that indefinable line drawn by the authorities between acceptable and unacceptable criticism. This he did, first, when he used a speech by Chiang Kai-shek to measure, and find wanting, the Kuomintang Central Committee's Fourth Department and its director Hsieh Jan-chih 謝然之 (Milton Shieh) in 1965,[50] and second, when he wrote Sun I-hsien ho Chung-kuo hsi-hua i-hsüeh 孫逸仙和中國西化醫學 (Sun Yat-sen and the Westernization of Medical Science in China).[51] This work not only tried to clear the odour of sanctity surrounding Sun Yat-sen in an attempt to see Sun, the man, but it also set out to extract from Sun's own writings the major areas of his concern. Despite his initial cynicism, fuelled by the Kuomintang hagiographers, Li Ao was impressed with the character that emerged from his findings. He discovered, too, that despite constant suggestions that the ideal society as envisaged by Sun and espoused by his followers had largely been established in Taiwan,

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50 See Chiang Nan 江南, "Li Ao, Po Yang, Yü Ch'ang-ch'eng hsiung-ti" 李敖、柏楊、于長城兄弟 (The Brothers, Li Ao, Po Yang and Yü Ch'ang-ch'eng) in Nan pei chi 南北極 (The Perspective Monthly), No.41, (Hong Kong, October, 1973), pp. 11-14.

51 This work was published in the Wen hsing ts'ung-k'an 文星叢刊 Series, No.138. For a digest and an appraisal, see Huang Szu-ch'eng 黃思騁, "Chin shu" 禁書 (A Banned Book), in Nan pei chi, No.15, (August, 1971), pp. 16-20.

there were in fact whole areas of the political and social scene that had changed little since Sun's day. True, footbinding; the queue; slavery; flogging, and opium smoking had been forbidden, but what about nepotism; financial rewards for services rendered; slander; torture; the denial of human rights, and numerous other things? Li Ao was too careful to pose such questions openly, but because of the manner in which he presented his material, the intelligent reader could not fail to draw the conclusion that despite the homage paid to Sun and his "Principles" over the years, many of his ideals had not yet been realized. As the target of Li Ao's covert criticism, the authorities reacted predictably. Sun Yat-sen and the Westernization of Medical Science in China was banned and Li Ao was placed under surveillance. When his friend, the political activist, P'eng Ming-min, escaped from Taiwan in 1970, Li Ao was held for questioning as a possible accessary.[52] He was released, but placed under even closer surveillance, and was finally arrested in March, 1971, when he was charged with sedition and sentenced to more than ten years imprisonment.[53] The charge of sedition was no more

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[52] See P'eng Ming-min, A Taste of Freedom, p.217.

[53] See Anon., "Li Ao pei pu nei-mu" 李敖被捕內幕 (The Inside Story of Li Ao's Arrest), in Nan pei chi, No.12, (May, 1971), pp. 45-47, and Far Eastern Economic Review, Vol.LXXII, No.19, (Hong Kong, May, 1971), p.13.

applicable to Li Ao than it was to many others who had suffered for their outspokenness. None the less, the court martial had him arraigned, rather "cleverly"[54] it was suggested, with members of the Taiwan Independence Movement in order to give the public the impression that he was part of a conspiracy against the state.

The Forced Closure of Literary Star

Since its inception in 1957 Literary Star had sought not only to foster a more critical literary climate by disseminating current literary theories and presenting reviews of current affairs or by publishing examples of good literature, but also to provide a forum where writers could challenge each other in print -preferably in a good-natured way. According to its publisher, Hsiao Meng-neng 蕭孟能 he had been completely impartial when accepting articles related to the various controversies that had been aired in Literary Star's columns, and had certainly never favoured Li Ao and others of his kind to the exclusion of opposing views, although their opponents would maintain that he had.[55]

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54 Mao Feng 矛鋒, "T'ai-wan i yüeh" 台灣一月 (Taiwan over the Last Month), in Nan pei chi, No.24, (May, 1972), p.14.

55 Hsiao Meng-neng, "Wen hsing yü Hu Ch'iu-yüan hsien-sheng"「文星」與胡秋原先生 in Li Ao, ed., Min pien yen-chiu yü Wen hsing kung-an 閩變研究與「文星」訟案 (The Apollo (Wen hsing) Monthly Case and a Study of the Fukien Revolt), (Taipei, 1965), p.48.

A regular contributor to the journal was Hu Ch'iu-yüan, member of the Legislative Yüan and Research Fellow of the Institute of Modern History, Acedemia Sinica. His contributions were welcomed, and his patronage gave moral support to those whose concern it was to keep the journal afloat, despite setbacks and difficulties.

As indicated earlier, Literary Star became the chief forum for the East-West Controversy. It was to find itself in great difficulty, however, when the controversy developed into a major conflict.

Hu Ch'iu-yüan, unexpectedly, in view of the circumstances, denounced Hu Shih and his supporters for their pro-Western stance.[56] The following issue, Literary Star, No.54, included articles in which the authors not only leapt to Hu Shih's defence, but denigrated Hu Ch'iu-yüan. It was even implied by one contributor that Hu Ch'iu-yüan had flirted with Marxism in his youth and that he was not as innocent as he had made himself out to be in his account of the 1933 revolt in Fukien. In fairness to all parties Literary Star allowed each combatant equal space in order to have the issues debated openly. However, whatever support Hu Ch'iu-yüan had afforded Literary

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[56] See Hu Ch'iu-yüan, "Yu ching-shen tu-li tao hsin wen-hua chih ch'uang-tsao" 由精神獨立到新文化之創造 (From Spiritual Independence to the Creation of New Culture) in Wen hsing, No.53, March, 1962, extracts of which are to be found in Li Ao, Wen-hua lun-chan tan-huo lu, p.17.

Star in the past, whether moral or monetary, was immediately withdrawn and he launched a virulent attack on the journal via the columns of Shih-chieh p'ing-lung 世界評論 (World Commentary). As time went on, more people became involved, either by submitting articles or by writing "letters to the editor". As we have already seen, Li Ao was given every opportunity to put over his views and to challenge Hu Ch'iu-yüan to give a true account of his past. The more he was worsted in argument, the more voluble Hu became. He finally sought to silence Literary Star by appealing in the Legislative Yüan for a prosecution of the journal on the grounds that it had insulted the head of state; but the then Minister of the Interior did not see the matter in the same light,[57] and no action was taken. Hu Ch'iu-yüan did, however, sue both Literary Star's publisher, Hsiao Meng-neng and Li Ao, among others, for libel.

Li Ao did not mince his words when informed that a case would be brought against him. He let it be known that he felt there was something "shameful"[58] about taking refuge in the law when one was losing an argument. Hu Ch'iu-yüan, however, justified his action by stating that he was only trying to "protect scholarship and the dignity of the intellectual"[59]

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[57] Li Ao, Min pien yen-chiu yü Wen hsing kung-an, p.19.
[58] ibid.
[59] ibid.

and by pointing out that a Communist technique was being employed by Li Ao, namely, that of sowing seeds of dissension between allies.

In the meantime Literary Star continued to publish thought-provoking articles until that fateful article by Li Ao on the Kuomintang Central Committee's Fourth Division at the end of 1965. Li Ao was now seen as having gone too far; and Literary Star, as the vehicle of Li Ao's denunciations, was made to bear the brunt of the government's displeasure. It ceased publication in December, 1965.

Postscript

Li Ao was released from prison during an amnesty for "political offenders" when Chiang Ching-kuo became head of state in 1978.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Lock of the Heart Controversy

> "Even if the author's intention were, as it cannot be, precisely determinable, the meaning of a work cannot lie in the author's intention alone. It must also lie in its effect.... In short, the audience partly determines the meaning of the work."[1]
>
> Lionel Trilling

> "I have never understood why writers should not be regarded by the reader as enjoying much the same rights as doctors. You do not suspect indecency in a doctor who asks you to strip in order to examine you. Why shouldn't you give the writer the same benefit of the doubt."[2]
>
> Unnamed critic.

Running concurrently with the East-West dispute was a controversy over one particular creative work of fiction that was to raise such serious issues as artistic integrity; the responsibility of a writer towards the society in which he lives, and the question of freedom of expression.

As stated earlier, many writers, particularly of the younger generation, were being influenced, in the late fifties and early sixties, by the films, the art and the literature that were being introduced into Taiwan from Europe and the United States. Those who studied the trends abroad had taken note of the fact that there was a greater honesty and frankness regarding sexual

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[1] Trilling, Lionel, The Liberal Imagination. Essays on Literature and Society, (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1951), p.60.

[2] See Durrell, Lawrence, Preface to The Black Book, (London, Faber &Faber, 1959), pp. 10-11.

behaviour in the works of major writers than was the case in Taiwan, and that public opinion seemed to have become more tolerant and more ready to accept what an earlier generation had refused to sanction. The once-banned Lady Chatterley's Lover, for example, had been vindicated in an English court[3] and was readily available to the reading public. Indeed, a pirated version of the novel was to be had in bookstores in Taipei. It was therefore not surprising that the day should arrive when similar experiments in sexual outspokenness would be tried within a Chinese context. (We are not here concerned with pornographic or erotic literature as such, but with the realistic treatment of human sexuality when it forms part of the life experience of a fictional character and when its inclusion is necessary for a proper understanding of that character.)

Whether the furore that accompanied one writer's attempt to employ a candid pen was occasioned by the fact that the writer was a woman rather than a man, it is difficult to say. Some, however, did maintain that it was a contributing factor.[4] Certainly, Kuo Liang-

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[3] Lady Chatterley's Lover was the subject of a case heard at the Old Bailey in 1960. As the book was deemed to have literary and moral qualities it was subsequently released for sale. See Harvey, Sir John, ed., The Oxford Companion to English Literature, 4th edit., (Oxford University Press, 1967), p.919.

[4] See Liu Hsin-huang 劉心皇, "Kuan-yü Hsin so ti liu wen-t'i" 關於「心鎖」的六問題 (On the Six Problems of The Lock of the Heart) in WT, No.41, November, 1963, reprinted in Hsin so chih lun-chan 「心鎖」之論戰 (The Lock of the Heart Controversy), (Taipei, Wu chou ch'u-pan-she 五洲出版社), 1963, p.87. Hereafter cited as HSLC.

hui 郭良蕙,[5] the writer in question, did not envisage the controversy that was to attend the publication of her novel Hsin so 心鎖 (The Lock of the Heart) nor the attacks on her in which her integrity as a writer and her personal morality were called into question.

Kuo Liang-hui already had over twenty works of fiction to her credit by the time she wrote Hsin so; she had a large readership, and in a nationwide popularity poll conducted by the China Youth Corps, she had been nominated as one of those novelists most young people like to read.[6] She had established herself as a writer with a "fine and delicate"[7] yet "animated"[8] style who had

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5 Kuo Liang-hui was born in Shantung province. Her date of birth is unknown; however, it is possible to deduce that she was born in the late nineteen twenties. During the war she went to junior middle school in Sian. She was at the time introduced to Hsieh Ping-ying by her Chinese language teacher who felt she showed great promise as a writer. She is a graduate of Szechuan University. Kuo Liang-hui's first work of fiction entitled, Chin kuo 禁果 (Forbidden Fruit) came off the press in 1954. A steady stream of novels and collections of short stories have issued from her pen ever since. Among her works are, Kan-ch'ing ti chai 感情的債 (An Emotional Debt), 1958; Ch'iang li ch'iang wai 牆裏牆外 (The Wall, Within and Without), 1961; Wo pu tsai k'u-ch'i 我不再哭泣 (I'll Cry No More), 1965 and Yü-ti yü lei-ti 雨滴與淚滴 (Raindrops and Tears), 1968.

6 See Sun Ch'i 孫旗 and Wang Chün-hsiung 王俊雄, "Hsin so shih-chien ti lai-tsung ch'ü-mo" 「心鎖」事件的來踪去脈 (The Beginning and Subsequent Development of The Lock of the Heart Affair), in Ya-chou hua-pao 亞洲畫報 (Asia Pictorial), No.124, reprinted in HSEC, pp. 137-138.

7 Ai Mei 艾玫 ed., Chung-kuo nü tso-chia shu-chien 中國女作家書簡 (Letters by Chinese Women Writers), (Taipei, P'ing-yüan ch'u-pan-she 平原出版社, 1965), p.123.

8 ibid.

a capacity for recording the feminine mind in its many moods and psychological states. It could, however, be said of her that she was more interested in the depiction of "small spheres of private sensibility than the larger realms of social solution."[9]

In December, 1961, when Kuo Liang-hui started writing Hsin so she was looking for a fresh mode of presentation. She had always set out not to repeat herself in her many novels and short stories, and what she now had in mind demanded a franker treatment of the whole problem of human sexuality than she had ever attempted before. In view of world trends, she felt she was justified in adopting a frank approach to her subject, although she later maintained she did not model herself on any particular writer nor follow any particular school of thought. Neither did she learn her writing technique from anyone.[10]

Kuo Liang-hui said of herself that she was neither a baptised nor a church-going Christian, but that she did believe in the eternal truths found in the Bible; and it was the Bible, she said, which had triggered off a chain of thought that led to the creation of Hsin so. What had stimulated the chain of thought was the phrase

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9 Cante, David, Collisions. Essays and Reviews, (London, Quartet Books, 1974), p.3.

10 Kuo Liang-hui, Hsin so, (Kaohsiung, Ta yeh shu-tien 大業書店, 3rd edit., 1962), pp. 370-380.

in St. Luke 23:34 "... for they know not what they do," - in other words, the possibility of sinning in ignorance. "Quite frequently," wrote Kuo Liang-hui in the Postscript to Hsin so, "man transgresses without knowing it. However, when he realizes that he has transgressed and decides to repent and mend his ways, he must suffer great pain and anguish in the process of attaining deliverance.... The more acute a person's moral sense, the greater the remorse when he has transgressed."[11]

These ideas, therefore, served as the core of her thinking which, along with their implications, she sought to work out in Hsin so.

As mentioned earlier, Kuo Liang-hui was known for her sensitive depiction of the inner workings of the female psyche. Accordingly, she sought to explain the central character in the novel, Hsia Tan-ch'i, in the following manner: "Most young women of the same age as Tan-ch'i live on daydreams, but at the same time they entertain strange and secret feelings concerning the relationship between the two sexes. Young women are emotionally very fragile; they cannot resist temptation, so they fall. They cannot cope with shock or revenge; consequently, all their pain and anguish is self-inflicted; and they have difficulty in attaining deliverance."[12]

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[11] ibid., p. 379-380.

[12] ibid.

In a nutshell, Hsin so is the story of a young woman with a strict Christian upbringing who finds herself caught in a tug-of-war between her conscience and moral code on the one hand and her affections and sexual drives on the other. When body triumphs over spirit, the results are so devastating that it seems that only a life-time of remorse might atone for her sins. However, she finds that ultimately there is forgiveness - in the Church.

How Kuo Liang-hui fleshes out the story can best be demonstrated by supplying a more detailed summary of the novel.

The central character in Hsin so is a beautiful young art student, Hsia Tan-ch'i, whose father has left home to live with his niece. Humiliated and disgraced, Tan-ch'i's mother finds consolation in the local chapel and becomes an active member of the congregation. Tan-ch'i, however, does not share her mother's interest in Christianity, although her conscience has been informed by it. At the age of twenty Tan-ch'i falls in love with a selfish and ambitious young man of slender means, Fan Lin. He has no sooner seduced her than he turns his attentions to Tan-ch'i's plain-looking, but wealthy friend, Chiang Meng-p'ing, with a view to marrying her for her money. Hurt and angry, Tan-ch'i accepts a proposal of marriage from Meng-p'ing's elder brother, Meng-hui, a pleasant, but somewhat dull young man who is a doctor by profession.

When Fan Lin marries Meng-p'ing, he becomes Tan-ch'i's brother-in-law and, in consequence, they see each other again at family gatherings. It is not long before Tan-ch'i and Fan Lin have embarked on an affair which they manage to keep secret from all members of the family except Meng-p'ing's younger brother, Meng-shih. Meng-shih is married to a well-connected Roman Catholic girl whom he respects but feels no affection for. He has over the years developed into a cynical, sophisticated womanizer and he sets out to exploit Tan-ch'i's weaknesses and to insinuate himself into her affections. He succeeds in supplanting Fan Lin by being the better lover. Ultimately, Fan Lin discovers the reason for Tan-ch'i's change of heart. Injured male pride on his part and Schadenfreude on Meng-shih's goad the two men into a contest. This takes the form of a car race on a country road outside Taipei. The race ends in a crash fatal to them both. Having witnessed the outcome of the race, Tan-ch'i is mortified over her part in the deaths of her two brothers-in-law. Penitent, she makes her way back to Taipei to her mother's chapel in time to hear the preacher say, "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do."[13]

Forming part of the backdrop to the main story is the scandal of Tan-ch'i's father; the disillusionment with marriage on the part of Tan-ch'i's two sisters-in-

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[13] ibid., p.378.

law; Meng-shih's wife's pre-occupation with her Church's teaching on confession and forgiveness, and Tan-ch'i's mother's concern for her daughter's moral well-being.

The above resumé may give the impression that, apart from the religious element, Hsin so differs little from one of those lurid stories that appear in certain kinds of women's magazines or cheap novelettes. However, Kuo Liang-hui is too skilled a story-teller; too serious a novelist for Hsin so to be relegated to that class of writing known as "pulp fiction". Indeed, had Kuo Liang-hui been less skilled a writer and less serious in her intent, Hsin so would have been dismissed out of hand without causing the sensation it did. Admittedly, Kuo Liang-hui has a strange way of demonstrating the theme of "sinning in ignorance" since the reader cannot help but feel that Tan-ch'i was far from ignorant about what she was doing. Secondly, the quotation from the Bible at the end of the novel rather lets Tan-ch'i off the hook, so to speak, and this undermines Kuo Liang-hui's argument about suffering "great pain and anguish in the process of attaining deliverance." But the major fault with the novel, as far as many of the more puritanical of the Taiwan public were concerned, was its outspokenness when dealing with the relationship between Tan-ch'i and the two men Fan Lin and Meng-shih, and it was for this that Kuo Liang-hui was taken to task and Hsin so banned. However, the ban

itself came about in an unusual manner, and to the minds of not a few fellow-writers, in a regrettable fashion.

The Sequence of Events Leading to the Government Ban on Hsin So

Hsin so was serialized in the Cheng-hsin hsin-wen pao 徵信新聞報 from January 4 to June 19, 1962. It was published in book form the following September. A second edition appeared within the same month, and a third edition followed in December. No complaint was lodged in official quarters regarding the "indecent" nature of or "indelicate" passages in Hsin so while it was being serialized. Although there were those who had misgivings about it, they did not want to make an issue of their concern lest publicity should draw more attention to the work than they felt it merited. Further, they were afraid that their criticism might be construed as jealousy over Kuo Liang-hui's success.[14]

Prior to its publication in book form the publishers, Ta yeh shu-tien 大業書店, were asked by the editor of Literature Forum (Wen t'an) to consider very carefully the nature of Hsin so before committing it to print.[15] The publishers, however, shared the opinion of the editorial board of Cheng-hsin hsin-wen pao which had

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14 See Mu Chung-nan, "I-ko fan-ch'ang hsien-hsiang Hsin so shih-chien" 一個反常現象「心鎖」事件 (An Unusual Phenomenon - The Lock of the Heart Affair), in WT, No.40, (October, 1963), reprinted in HSLC, p.71.

15 ibid.

felt that although Kuo Liang-hui had told an "ugly"[16] story, she had, nevertheless, done so "successfully",[17] and, consequently, they went ahead with the printing of the first edition. A second edition came out close on the heels of the first. The novel was selling so well that a third edition was contemplated. As this point Hsin so was reviewed in Wen yüan 文苑 (Literature) by Su Hsüeh-lin, Taiwan's senior woman writer and founder-member of The Taiwan Women Writers' Association. After giving a resumé of the novel, Su Hsüeh-lin asked whether Kuo Liang-hui had given any thought to the consequences of presenting the public with such a work. She went on to point out that ever since China had been "flooded"[18] with ideas from the rest of the world, that which had taken the severest beating was "the old ethical education,"[19] and its first casualty was the morality which governed the relationship between men and women. Relationships between men and women were now so open and free that social evils related to sex were becoming more and more commonplace. Rape followed by homicide was on the increase; adultery was frequently followed by violence, and the once stable relationship between husband and wife had now become so shaky that the very

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16 Yü Chi-chung 余紀忠, "'Wen hsieh' pu ying pien-wei ya-chih tzu-yu szu-hsiang ti li-liang" 「文協」不應變為壓制自由思想的力量 (The Association of Literature and Art Must Not Become a Force for the Suppression of Free Thought), in Ya-chou hua-pao, No.124, reprinted in HSLC, p.147.

17 ibid.

foundations of the home were threatened. As if that were not enough, she complained, along comes a novel like Hsin so. Because it was so well written, its power to pervert was doubly great. The pronouncements on life, morality and religion, put into the mouths of its characters, and which ostensibly demonstrated the serious intent of the author, served only to camouflage the novel's real aim which was to incite lust. If impressionable young people were to take the novel as a blueprint for their lives, the consequences, as far as chastity and fidelity were concerned, would be disastrous. To cap it all, Kuo Liang-hui had not just dealt with adultery, but she had brought in an incestuous element as well. "I don't know why the writer is so interested in incest," wrote Su Hsüeh-lin, "... is she deliberately making the book more provocative in order to awaken the reader's curiosity so that a few more copies of the work will be sold?"[20] If personal profit were Kuo Liang-hui's motive, then she was to be condemned. Su Hsüeh-lin then went on to refer to the fact that there were some who had come to the defense of Hsin so by pointing out that works like Lady Chatterley's

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18 Su Hsüeh-lin, "P'ing liang pen huang-se hsiao-shuo Chiang-shan mei-jen yü Hsin so" 評兩本黃色小說「江山美人」與「心鎖」 (A Review of Two Yellow Novels, The Beauty of Chiang-shan and The Lock of the Heart), reprinted in HSLC, p.13.

19 ibid.

20 ibid., p.15.

Lover were enjoying a wide circulation abroad, and that Kuo Liang-hui herself had pointed to the foreign films and translations into Chinese of foreign novels about which no one had made any complaint, and had asked why an exception should be made of her work? All one could say in reply, said Su Hsüeh-lin was that one had to take the attitude of the author into account. It was not a question of whether one wrote about sex or not, but of how one wrote about it.

Su Hsüeh-lin concluded her review by calling on all writers to do some soul-searching; to become more aware of their responsibilities as writers, and to refrain from writing the kind of literature that was injurious to youth. She hoped, she said, for a return to the "innocence"[21] that had marked the new literature when it first began to appear in Taiwan ten years previously.

Shortly after Su Hsüeh-lin's review of Hsin so, Hsieh Ping-ying, also a founder-member of The Taiwan Women Writer's Association, expressed her opinion of Hsin so in no uncertain terms. Her admonition of Kuo Liang-hui took the form of an open letter via the columns of Tzu-yu ch'ing-nien 自由青年 (Free Youth). She started by reminding Kuo Liang-hui of their first meeting in Sian when Kuo Liang-hui was still in junior middle school. She had been pointed out to her as a promising student whose handling of her own language

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[21] ibid., p.17.

indicated a bright future as a writer. Kuo Liang-hui had indeed lived up to that promise, but she had also come to exhibit less admirable qualities such as vanity and a certain amount of exhibitionism. She had watched with dismay, she said, the direction Kuo Liang-hui's writing had taken over the last few years until it had culminated in this odious work, Hsin so, which could have nothing but a detrimental effect on the young and impressionable. "Liang-hui," she concluded the letter, "it is because I and Hsüeh-lin care for you, care for the reader and for the sacred literary arena that we have not hesitated to bare our hearts and to counsel you in all frankness in the hope that you will stop before anything worse comes to pass. Repent; salvation is at hand. Reform; change your style of writing; use your intelligence and write more of the kind of works that are of benefit to society and public morality; and wash away the stains of Hsin so ...."[22]

If Kuo Liang-hui herself was not going to "wash away the stains" of Hsin so, it appeared that The Taiwan Women Writers's Association was prepared to do so, for it lodged a complaint in November with the authorities over the indecent nature of the novel. The authorities did not act swiftly enough, however, and a third edition came off the press in December, 1962. By January, 1963, the Ministry of the Interior was ready to act upon the

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[22] Hsieh Ping-ying, "Kei Kuo Liang-hui nü-shih ti i-feng kung-k'ai hsin" 給郭良蕙女士的一封公開信

complaint lodged against Hsin so, and consequently a notice was posted to the effect that the Ta Yeh Shu-tien had contravened Article 32,1.3. of the Publications Act by publishing Kuo Liang-hui's Hsin so, and that, therefore, in accordance with Article 39,1.3, all sale and distribution of the said publication was prohibited and copies of the novel were subject to confiscation. The ban was published in the January issue of the Taiwan Provincial Information Office's gazette. The Kaohsiung City Council, under whose jurisdiction the Ta Yeh Shu-tien came, was duly notified, as were the police and other municipal councils around the island.[23]

The criticism of the novel, the personal admonition to Kuo Liang-hui, and even the ban might have been accepted by many observers; but what took place in March, 1963, was seen as adding insult to injury and as a form of victimization which reflected badly on literary bodies in Taiwan. As if the banning of this particular novel of Kuo Liang-hui's was not enough, the board of directors of the China Association of Literature and Art decided to expel Kuo Liang-hui from the Association. Although Hsin so was not specifically mentioned in an appeal made by the Association on the eve of Literature Day (May 4) for a "new cultural

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(An Open Letter to Miss Kuo Liang-hui), in Tzu-yu ch'ing-nien, No. 337, reprinted in HSLC, pp. 4-5.

23 See Sun Ch'i and Wang Chün-hsiung, op.cit., p.140.

purification movement,"[24] nevertheless, the reference to yellow literature and to "yet another evil influence harmful to man"[25] left the reader in no doubt that the appeal was made as a form of justification for the action taken.

Taking its cue from The China Association of Literature and Art, The Taiwan Women Writers' Association, of which Kuo Liang-hui was also a member, expelled her on May 4, 1963, in order, as it put it, "to uphold the dignity of literary work and to strengthen self-discipline among the literary rank and file."[26] In its view, Kuo Liang-hui had brought this expulsion on herself, for as a signatory to the covenant made at the 14th annual conference of the Association she too had undertaken "... not to write literary products which are injurious to society or to the individual sensibility or which are destructive to morality." (Clause 3)[27] In writing Hsin so Kuo Liang-hui was seen as having broken this promise and had therefore forfeited her right to belong to the Association. The Association would be

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24 Lung T'ien 龍天, "Wen-i-ch'üan chung i ta shih" 文藝圈中一大事 (A Matter of Great Importance in Literary Circles), in Ya-chou hua-pao, No. 124 and YSWI, Vol.18, No.5 (May, 1963), reprinted in HSLC, p.163.

25 ibid.

26 Wen hsieh-hui 文協會 "Chung-kuo wen-i hsieh-hui sheng-ming" 中國文藝協會聲明 (A Public Statement by The China Association of Literature and Art), in Chung-yang jih-pao, November 5, 1963, reprinted in HSLC, p.173.

27 ibid.

doing less than its duty if it did not dissociate itself from Kuo Liang-hui and the type of literature she was producing.

The matter of Hsin so and Kuo Liang-hui's membership of The Chinese Youth Writers' Association was brought up also in that Association. The question of whether or not to revoke her membership was put to the vote. The motion that she be expelled was defeated by a narrow majority largely because of the results of the popularity poll referred to earlier.[28]

Kuo Liang-hui was personally less worried about the loss of her membership of the two writers' associations than about the ban on her novel and behind-the-scenes pressure to have her removed as director of programmes on literature at the Taiwan Television Corporation. An attempt to have the current reading of her novel Yao-yüan ti lu 遙遠的路 (The Distant Road), over the China Broadcasting Station, discontinued was also a cause of much concern to her.[29] About her membership of the writers' associations she had this to say, "The object in joining the writers' associations eight years ago was to advance my knowledge and to make

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28 See footnote 6.

29 Chao Kuang-yü 趙光裕, "Tiu-le so-shih ti Hsin so: fang nü tso-chia, Kuo Liang-hui, t'an hsieh-tso yü jen-sheng 丟了鎖匙的「心鎖」訪女作家郭良蕙談寫作與人生 (The Lock of the Heart Which Has Lost Its Key. An Interview with the Woman Writer, Kuo Liang-hui, on Her Life and Writing), in Tzu-li wan-pao 自立晚報 (Independence Evening Post), May 3, 1963, reprinted in HSLC, p.46.

friends. I later discovered that taking part in literary activities does nothing to help one's writing. All a writer can do if he wants to [produce] the kind of work that will make an impact on the reader's mind, is to do his utmost and work hard by himself. For the last four years, therefore, I have not attended any literary activities, and have thus for some time been a member in name only."[30] She made no move to have the associations reconsider their decision, but as far as Hsin so was concerned, she engaged a lawyer to petition the government to have the ban lifted.

It was inevitable that the newspapers would track down Kuo Liang-hui in order to get her version of the story and her reactions to the ban on her novel. According to Tzu-li wan-pao which interviewed her on May 3, 1963, the day before her expulsion from The Taiwan Women Writers's Association became official, Kuo Liang-hui had maintained that the actual production of literature was not the concern of any writers' association; these organizations existed solely for the maintenance of contact between writers. Secondly, no work of art could be judged according to moral standards

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30 Kuo Liang-hui, "Wo pu chung-shih Hsin so ho Wen hsieh-hui chieh" 我不重視「心鎖」和文協會籍 (I Do Not Think Highly of The Lock of the Heart nor of My Membership of The China Association of Literature and Art), reprinted in HSLC, p.176.

or some "emotional hang-up";[31] it stood or fell on its own artistic merit. The plays of Shakespeare which included incest, and the nude statuary in Venice, for example, could not be judged according to moral criteria. Whether they endured or not depended solely on their intrinsic value; and that was true of all art, including her own. When asked what her motives were in writing Hsin so, Kuo Liang-hui replied that the purpose of literature was to reflect life and to expose all aspects of the human condition; and as for sex, it was as much a part of life as any other part. Writing in the West, for example, had in recent years been describing sex in as natural a manner as it had any other physical function like eating or drinking. Admittedly, it was the writer who decided whether it was made to appear beautiful or ugly. It had crossed her mind while she was preparing the draft of Hsin so that the finished product might run into opposition, but she firmly believed in a writer's freedom to write in the manner laid down in Clause 1 of The China Association of Literature and Art's covenant which read, "We firmly believe that in the creation of literature there must be freedom to select material within a free environment and that there must be freedom of presentation."[32] She did not believe she had done anything wrong, yet "they have put limits to my freedom to

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[31] Chao Kuang-yü, op.cit., p.44.

[32] ibid., p.45.

write."[33] She went on to point out that there was something highly irregular about the manner in which the ban had come about. The Publication Act stated quite clearly that if a publication was to be banned, the ban had to be put into effect within three months of its publication, yet Hsin so had been serialized over a period of six months the year before, and it had come out in book form the previous autumn. The statutory three month period had thus long since expired, and, consequently, she would not "concede defeat".[34] Having put the matter in the hands of a solicitor, she now hoped for "a just solution"[35] to the problem. She could not understand, she continued, the moves to have her activities on television curtailed or the reading of one of her novels over radio halted since it was only Hsin so that was banned, and not all her works of fiction. She could only put these machinations down to some "private grudge".[36] When asked whether the ban would have an inhibiting effect on her writing, she replied that she hoped it would act as a stimulus to greater maturity in her future work.

Reactions to the Ban and the Expulsion

The ban and the expulsion from the writers'

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[33] ibid.
[34] ibid.
[35] ibid.
[36] ibid., p.46.

associations of Kuo Liang-hui was to have exactly the opposite effect from that intended, in that before the ban Hsin so was sold over the counter for N.T.$18 a copy, whilst after the ban it remained readily available everywhere in Taiwan, but under the counter, and for the much inflated price of N.T.$40 to $60. In Hong Kong, where Ya-chou hua-pao 亞洲畫報 (Asia Pictorial) was watching the affair closely, the more that was written about the ban, the more sales soared, with the consequence that more people read the novel than if an issue had not been made of the novel at all.[37] A similar misjudgement of people's attitudes attended the expulsion of Kuo Liang-hui, for the spectacle of a lone woman writer set upon by fellow-writers generated considerable sympathy from people who had hitherto not rated Kuo Liang-hui so very highly.[38] Doubts were also expressed as to whether the boards of directors of the two writers' associations were empowered to act as they had, and whether in fact Kuo Liang-hui's expulsion was a unanimous decision made by all the members of the associations.[39]

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37 Shih Lü 石侶 "Tsai t'an Hsin so shih-chien" 再談「心鎖」事件 (More on The Lock of the Heart Affair), in Ya-chou hua-pao, No.12? (a possible misprint here), reprinted in HSLC, p.150 and Chou Ch'i-tzu 周棄子 "'Fou-fou-fou' san ko tzu"「否否否」三個字 (Three Words, No! No! No!), (Taipei, July 8, 1963), reprinted in HSLC, p.151.

38 Lung T'ien, op.cit., p.165.

39 ibid., p.163.

All these matters and queries were to lead Ya-chou hua-pao in Hong Kong to commission the literary critic, Sun Ch'i 孫旗 and a certain Wang Chün-hsiung 王俊雄 to make an investigation into the Hsin so affair. What came to light, as far as The Taiwan Women Writers' Association was concerned, was that the idea to expel Kuo Liang-hui had originated with four of the directors of the Association. The matter had been put to the vote at a general meeting which had taken place on May 4; but, as the poet and novelist Ming Ch'iu-shui 明秋水,[40] pointed out, the outcome of any ballot could only be valid if more than half the members of an organization took part in the voting, and that two-thirds of an association's members had to be present for it to constitute a plenary session. The Taiwan Women Writers' Association had a membership of over 1,300, Ming said, yet only 100-200 had been present when the expulsion of Kuo Liang-hui was put to the vote. Further, all members had not been informed in advance of the meeting, nor had the session been notified that the matter was on the agenda. The expulsion of Kuo Liang-hui, Ming Ch'iu-shui maintained, was therefore unconstitutional, as was her expulsion from The China Association of Literature and Art. Instead of acting in such a high-handed manner, individual members of the

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[40] Ming Ch'iu-shui, born in Hankow in 1920, is also a scriptwriter. In addition to his own creative work, he keeps a close watch on mainland affairs.

association should have sought out Kuo Liang-hui and admonished her in private, suggested Ming. If she had paid no attention, it should then have been pointed out to her where her work had gone wrong, and if she had still refused to heed what was said to her, the Association should have followed organizational procedures and invited Kuo Liang-hui to a seminar at which her work could have been discussed. If she had declined the invitation or if she had continued to refuse to acknowledge her mistake, then and only then should the Association have resorted to more drastic measures. Even so, to ask for her resignation would have been by far the better strategy and one which literary friends would have found acceptable. By expelling Kuo Liang-hui outright without a hearing "... the writers' associations (the boards of directors and supervisors) had adopted the attitude of the court judge who passes sentence after a crime has been committed.... By acting in the way they had, had not the writers' associations become 'literary tribunals'?"[41]

It did not, of course, need someone from Hong Kong to point out that the associations had reacted with undue harshness, for on May 5 the novelist, Chiang Shih-chiang 江石江,[42] expressed his unease in the

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41 Sun Ch'i and Wang Chün-hsiung, op.cit., p.139.

42 Chiang Shih-chiang, born in Chungking in 1899, first made his name with a travelogue entitled, Yeh-lang yu-tsung 夜郎遊蹤 (Traveller in Yehlang), written in 1936 and published by the Nan-jing hsin min pao 南京新民報 He has since written, novels, short stories and essays.

Tzu-li wan-pao over the manner in which Kuo Liang-hui had been treated. No political party, he pointed out, would throw out one of its members the very first time he did not conform to party regulations. The usual procedure was to issue a warning or to let the offender remain in the party pending the results of an investigation. Similarly, no pupil would be expelled from his school the first time he broke the rules. He would at least have three chances. But Kuo Liang-hui had not been given even one chance. "... the expulsion of a schoolchild is an indication that education has failed; it is not in anyway an expression of power. Surely, the expulsion of a member by the writers' associations is as much an expression of failure as the expulsion of a pupil from his school."[43] An association might have power over its members, but it also had an obligation. In its action against Kuo Liang-hui the writers' association had displayed its power, but not its sense of obligation - the obligation to safeguard the freedom to write.

Chiang Shih-chiang was not alone in the view that Kuo Liang-hui had been "grievously wronged."[44] The

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[43] Chiang Shih-chiang, "'Wen hsieh' chu-hsiao Kuo Liang-hui hui-chieh mien-mien-kuan" 「文協」註銷郭良蕙會籍面面觀 (A Comprehensive Analysis of the Revocation of Kuo Liang-hui's Membership of the China Association of Literature and Art), reprinted in HSLC, p.65.

[44] ibid., p.66.

managing director of the Tzu-li wan-pao, Li Yü-chieh 李玉階 ; the chairman of the committee of the Sino-American Cultural and Economic Organization, Liang Han-ts'ao 梁寒操 ; the well-known woman writer Chang Shu-han 張漱菡 ;[45] chief of a photographic news agency, Li Fu 李孚 , and the writer, Kuo Szu-fen 郭嗣汾,[46] just to mention a few, had all indicated to him that the associations had gone too far. Indeed, Kuo Szu-fen had even expressed the opinion that the matter was bound to be raised at the annual conference of writers and would no doubt lead to a dispute.[47]

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45 Chang Shu-han was born in Peking in 1930 although her parents originated from Anhwei province. She has written at least eleven novels and five collections of short stories. Among her novels Fei-ts'ui t'ien-yüan 翡翠田園 (Kingfisher Pastures) which describes the lives of the peasantry during the Japanese occupation of Taiwan and after the island's restoration to China. It deals with land reform and with improved conditions in the countryside. She is said to write in a refreshing style and with considerable insight.

46 Kuo Szu-fen was born in Szechuan in 1919. He joined the army during the Sino-Japanese war, but on coming to Taiwan he joined the navy and devoted himself to the culture movements in the armed forces. He was subsequently assigned to the Taiwan Provincial Government's Information Office. A prolific writer, Kuo Szu-fen, has at least thirty-five works of fiction to his credit. His early stories were concerned with the sea as, for example, Hai k'uo t'ien-k'ung 海闊天空 (Boundless), 1953, and Li-ming ti hai-chan 黎明的海戰 (Sea-battle at Dawn), 1956. Both won literary awards.

47 Chiang Shih-chiang, op.cit., p.66.

For some inexplicable reason people were more ready to absolve the Taiwan Women Writers' Association for its expulsion of Kuo Liang-hui than the China Association of Literature and Art. They felt it had acted in haste and without properly considering the matter; however, they "forgave"[48] the Association for trying to preserve an untarnished image. The China Association of Literature and Art, on the other hand, was viewed somewhat differently and came in for a fair amount of criticism for not having resolved the matter more judiciously. The exercise, it was pointed out, was counterproductive in that it had only served to give Kuo Liang-hui a considerable amount of publicity.

The sentiment shared by many can best be summed up in the words, first of Yü Chi-chung 余紀忠, a graduate of the London School of Economics and the then publisher of Cheng-hsin hsin-wen-pao, and secondly, of Chang Kuo-hsing 張國興, the manager of Ya-chou Ch'u-pan-she 亞洲出版社 (Asia Press, Hong Kong) who had close ties with the China Association of Literature and Art.[49]

The two associations had set a dangerous precedent, said Yü Chi-chung, when they gave the authorities a reason for banning a book. If one writer could be penalized or one literary work could be suppressed, then so could

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48 Liu Hsin-huang, op.cit., p.88.

49 See WINC, p.160.

others, and one of the consequences of this would be that no writer would be able freely to realize his potential. "I believe," Yü said, "that no one wants to see a writer's own organization become a power that fosters the desire to conceal social evil or that suppresses free thought."[50] What Kuo Liang-hui had done in Hsin so was to disclose an area of human experience" which probably many phoney moralists (moral poseurs) did not wish to see exposed."[51] Kuo Liang-hui was a "gifted"[52] writer whose literary work was able to reflect current social developments, and it was also able to inspire in the reader a love of the good and a hatred for evil. Any literary creation that could achieve this should not be condemned. The older generation, both in society generally and in the literary world in particular, should not ostracize "this member of a new generation of writers"[53] the very first time she writes daringly; instead, it should "give her the opportunity to progress through a process of refinement."[54] The impression people had of the literary world in Taiwan, Yü went on, was that it was

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50 Yü Chi-chung, "'Wen hsieh' pu ying pien-wei ya-chih tzu-yu szu-hsiang ti li-liang" 「文協」不應變為壓制自由思想的力量 (The China Association of Literature and Art Must Not Become a Force for the Suppression of Free Thought), in Ya-chou hua-pao, No.124, reprinted in HSLC, p.147.

51 ibid.

52 ibid.

53 ibid.

54 ibid.

outdated and featureless, and that this no doubt accounted for the scarcity of novels which examined and described society from every angle. No one would deny that Kuo Liang-hui had been plain-spoken; however, there were other writers who had been equally forthright both in the past and in the present and they had not been regarded as having broken the law. The singling out of Kuo Liang-hui and Hsin so therefore "could not be said to be just."[55]

Not only was it not just, said Chang Kuo-hsing, taking up the argument from Yü, it was undemocratic.

> For a writer's own organization to request the government to ban a book, and after the book has been banned then to revoke the membership of the author of the book is something which has never happened before in democratic and free countries. Although the three books Lady Chatterley's Lover, Tropic of Cancer and Lolita were banned for a time, their three authors were never expelled from any literary body, nor did any writers' association request the government to ban these three books. Such things take place only in Communist countries. Pasternak, for example, won the Nobel Prize for his Dr. Zhivago, yet he had his membership revoked by the Russian Writers' Association; and in Communist China the woman writer Ting Ling 丁玲 ,[56] awarded the Stalin Prize for Literature, was expelled from the Communist Writers' Association because her writing was becoming politically questionable. That such a Communist Party-styled incident should this time take place in Free China was a matter deeply to be regretted.[57]

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55 ibid.

56 Ting Ling, novelist and short story writer, was born in Ch'ang-te, Hunan, in 1907. She gained fame during the nineteen twenties for her vivid description of rebellious youth. She joined the Communist Party in 1933 and became an important leader of and contributor to the Party-sponsored literary world. She received the Stalin Prize for literature in 1951 for her novel T'ai-yang chao tsai Sang-kan-ho shang 太陽照在桑乾河上 (The Sun Shines over the Sangkan

> Although I acknowledge that the government acted according to the law in banning Hsin so, yet it is wrong in principle. The text of the law is dead, but the application of the text of the law is alive. What is meant by alive is this: When a legal question arises to which the law must be applied, one should ask whether or not it is reasonable; whether or not it is humane, and whether or not it is fair. Because these questions must be asked, there is in addition to law - equity. Edmund Burke, the great English philosopher's so-called 'law that governs all law' is 'The Law of humanity justice and equity.' Hsin so was not banned when it was serialized in the paper. It was published in a single volume, but only when the third edition was published was it banned. Although the government had the right to do what it did in terms of the law governing publications, nevertheless, in terms of the principle of law it was inexcusable. One can say that the disciplinary action taken by the government was 'lawful', but it was not 'equitable'.[58]

Chang Kuo-hsing then referred to a press conference which had been held at Yangmingshan, Taipei, in 1961 at which the representatives of the various news agencies had attacked the Publication Act. At the time Chang had argued in favour of the Act.

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56 contd.
River), published in 1948. Ting Ling was accused in the mid-nineteen fifties of rejecting party guidance, of fostering cliquism and of promoting capitalist-individualist thought. She was sentenced to hard labour and served for some time as a cleaning woman in the headquarters of the Writers' Association in Peking. She has been rehabilitated since the fall of "the Gang of Four". For further biographical details see, BDRC, Vol. 3, pp. 272-276.

57 Chang Kuo-hsing, "Wo tui Hsin-so shih-chien ti i-chien" 我對「心鎖」事件的意見 (My Views on The Lock of the Heart Affair), in Ya-chou hua-pao, No. 132, reprinted in HSLC, p. 19.

58 Chang Kuo-hsing, "Fa-lü yü cheng-i" 法律與正義 (The Law and Justice), in Ya-chou hua-pao, No. 124, reprinted in HSLC, pp. 131-132.

> One of the reasons (Chang said) for the attitude of the representatives of the press towards the Publication Act was that they feared that some executive agency might misuse the said Act and suppress the freedom of the press. In view of the present Hsin so affair, their concern is not without foundation.
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> Both the law and freedom can be abused, but they cannot be abolished just because they can be abused. I have always been happy to strike a blow against injstice. The year before last I struck a blow for the government, the Ministry of Interior, to be exact, at the Yangmingshan conference with regard to the question of press freedom. This time I am striking a blow against injustice on behalf of Kuo Liang-hui. I realize that I may have offended many people this time as I did last time, but in the interest of fair play I will spare no effort when it comes to righting a wrong....
>
> The order to ban [the book] did of course emanate from the government, but it does in no way represent government policy; nor can one deduce from this that literary freedom in Free China has been suppressed. This particular ban only originated with a certain sub-governmental administrative agency, and, I have heard it said, at the instigation of a small number of people. To my knowledge, there are many high-ranking officials within the government who do not agree with the ban on Hsin so. A ban is a totally wrong kind of disciplinary action to take; however, it is only an administrative error not an error of policy. Comparatively more serious was the mistake made by The China Association of Literature and Art and The Taiwan Women Writers' Association which demanded that the government ban the book, and then went on to revoke the author's membership. The government's mistake can be rectified and the ban can be rescinded, but the mistake made by The China Association of Literature and Art and The Taiwan Women Writers' Association, which has to do with the question of attitudes, can only be made good through long-term reform and much effort.[59]

Chang Kuo-hsing had described the expulsion of Kuo Liang-hui and the ban on her novel as "undemocratic". Shih Lü 石侶 , a government official who had just

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[59] ibid., pp. 132-133.

returned from the World Food Conference in Washington at the time the Hsin so controversy was at its height, was to take the argument a stage further and suggest that it was unconstitutional.

> First, the freedom to write and the freedom to publish is a basic right of a people (see Article 11 of the Constitution)[60] That '[All freedoms and rights] shall not be restricted by law except by such as may be necessary to prevent infringement upon the freedoms of other persons, to avert an imminent crisis, to maintain social order and to advance public welfare' (See Article 15)[61] is clearly stated in the Constitution of the Republic of China. Everyone knows for a fact that the writing and publication of Hsin so does not infringe the freedoms of other persons; that it does not create an imminent crisis; that it does not destroy social order. Further, everyone knows for a fact that the banning of Hsin so does nothing to advance public welfare, nor does public welfare have need of such a thing. To use the law to restrict the freedom to write and publish - something which should not be restricted - and finally to ban a publication, isn't that unconstitutional?[62]

The Pro-ban Lobby

Though many agreed with the anti-ban lobby, there were as many who maintained that the ban was to be welcomed since the freedom of writing was being abused. Granted that the Constitution stated that freedoms and rights should not be restricted by law except when they infringed upon the freedom of others; nonetheless, in its description of incest, said an eminent lawyer, Mo P'ing-fan 莫屏藩 ,

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60 Article 11 of the Constitution reads, "The People shall have freedom of speech, teaching, writing and publication." See, China Year Book, 1972-73, p. 732.

61 Shih Lü states that this is Article 15 of the Constitution, whereas it is Article 23.

62 Shih Lü, op. cit., p. 149.

Hsin so had repudiated traditional moral values and by so doing "had caused damage to social order"[63]; consequently, the government ought to restrict the author's freedom to write. "There is a limit to freedom," he said. "Under the law everyone is equally free, but you can't talk about freedom where someone has placed himself outside the law."[64] He sincerely hoped, he said, that no one would destroy the normal and accepted ways and relationships of people in the name of freedom.

Arguing along similar lines was Professor of Jurisprudence, Wang Hui-ch'eng, 汪禕成 who did, however, make a point of saying that the attitude to obscene literature varied from country to country, and that there was a difference of opinion between one person and another as to what constituted an obscenity. Hsin so was not likely to pervert everyone who read it, he said, nevertheless, it was evident that it was having a bad influence on some young readers. In as much as references had been made to films which had become more "daring", Professor Wang pointed out that there was a difference between books and films in that films could be so rated that young people of the age of sixteen and under could be denied entry to picture-theatres showing certain questionable films.

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63 Hsiao Yin 曉音 "Hsin so wen-t'i ti mien-mien-kuan" 「心鎖」問題的面面觀 (A Comprehensive Analysis of The Lock of the Heart Affair), in WT, No. 41, (November, 1963), reprinted in HSLC, p. 50.

64 ibid.

No similar measure could be employed with regard to books. The fact that a book could fall into the hands of anyone was something each writer, who had a sense of morality, should bear in mind when he put pen to paper. There were those who maintained that the banning of Hsin so raised the question of the freedom to write; but, he indicated, there was no place in the world which had unlimited freedom. Any country that came under the rule of law limited the freedom of the individual for the sake of the public good. However, as far as the present case was concerned, it ought to be remembered that criticism should be limited to the book in question and not become an attack on the person of the writer. On this score several newspaper supplements had erred on the pretext of "safeguarding the good social climate and protecting those who created genuine literature."[65]

Although he would not say in so many words that he supported the ban, nevertheless, the Head of the National Museum of History, Pao Tsun-p'eng 包遵彭 , felt that the author of Hsin so should accept the censure of "the artistic conscience"[66], for art was a facet of morality and could not exist in isolation from it. At its highest level art should enrich and elevate life. No beautiful work of art could be formed out of the obscene, and since Hsin so seemed to be excessively concerned with the obscene, it could be no beautiful work of art. The fact that the

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65 ibid, p. 52.

66 ibid., p. 59.

main character in the novel had a sense of shame and was censured by her conscience indicated that the author meant to show a progression from the bad to the good. But the manner in which she had written the novel and the way the story unfolded obscured the author's intent. In other words her technique was not equal to the task and the story had got the better of the writer. However, apart from the technical failure of the novel there was the more serious failure of the writer, namely, her sole concern with life's darker aspects and her inability to take into consideration the corporate body of society. Every society had its good points as well as its bad, and "the essential significance of art does not lie in publicizing and exalting evil, but in guarding the health of mankind."[67] Had Kuo Liang-hui forgotten, in her preoccupation with "a bestial world"[68] Pao Tsun-p'eng asked, the tens of thousands of soldiers in Taiwan engaged in warfare; the countless workers employed in production, enduring all sorts of hardships and deprivation, and the many scholars tirelessly engaged in the pursuit of learning? He finally begged Kuo Liang-hui to "widen her field of vision"[69] and touch upon some of the more "pure and sacred"[70] things in life.

Yang Pao-lin 楊寶琳, a member of the

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67 ibid., p. 61.

68 ibid.

69 ibid.

70 ibid.

Legislative Yüan, was also in agreement with the government ban on Hsin so because of the possible detrimental effect she thought it might have on the young. She did, however, express the hope that Kuo Liang-hui's other works of fiction would not be ignored on account of the ban on this one particular work. Kuo Liang-hui had many outstanding novels to her credit and she deserved the reputation she had made for herself. Yang Pao-lin therefore hoped that she would be reinstated in the writers' associations; that she would continue to work hard and, "using her talent according to anti-Communist national policy",[71] create literary works of even greater value. She hoped that she would forge ahead in a new direction and make an even greater contribution as a writer.

Less emotive and less personal was the statement made by Lin Shih-ts'un 林適存[72], a career soldier and prolific writer, who tried to interpret the Kuo Liang-hui event for the critic abroad, particularly the critic in Hong Kong.

> The ban on Hsin so has caused an uproar in the world of literature in Free China; it has also caused some misunderstanding among people abroad

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71 ibid., p. 62.

72 Lin Shih-ts'un, also known as Nan Kuo 南郭 was born in Hunan province in 1914. He joined the army and rose to be colonel. His first novel, T'o niao 鴕鳥 (The Ostrich) was published by Asia Press in Hong Kong in 1953. Ti i lien ch'ü 第一戀曲 (Song of First Love), published in Hong Kong in 1955, won the Literary Awards Committee's literature award, and his Ch'iao fu 巧婦 (The Resourceful Woman) won the 1959 Ministry of Education's literature award. Although all his novels are anti-Communist, each one is different from the other.

regarding the literary world in Taiwan in that they think the literary world in Free China does not have freedom of writing. They even go so far as to wonder whether the person concerned, Kuo Liang-hui, is not sweeping floors as punishment like Ting Ling. I feel the creation of this misunderstanding has implications which are more serious than the misfortune which has befallen Miss Kuo. As for how this affair came about, the book Hsin so is one problem, and the manner in which the matter was dealt with by the Taiwan Women Writers' Association and The China Association of Literature and Art is another. At a symposium held by the Cheng sheng 正聲 Broadcasting Station on 'The question of the course creative literature is taking' at the end of April and at which Wang Lan, Hou Hsi-kai 后希鎧[73], Kuo Liang-hui, Shih Fan 師範[74] and I, five of us, were present, I had this to say concerning the matter of the freedom to write, 'Creative writing in Free China is free, most decidedly free. Now, how can I explain this? Although we are governed by the Kuomintang, yet the Kuomintang is different from the Communist Party in that the Kuomintang does not have a rigid literary policy. Literary products do not have first to be screened, nor do we have the severe rules and regulations the Communists have. Although the government entertains certain hopes with regard to the writer, it very rarely resorts to that extreme measure of banning publications, and least of all does it close down newspapers and journals and sentence their writers to prison or to a reformatory. This is something from which we should draw comfort.'[75]

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73 Hou Hsi-k'ai was born in Yunnan in 1917. He spent many years in Malaysia before going to Taiwan in 1959. In 1960 he published a long novel entitled, Ma-lai mei 馬來妹 (Little Malayan Sister) in which he examined the problem of mixed marriages between Chinese and Malayan. He also wrote about customs, religion and the life of Chinese in Malaya. Among his novels are, Lo ch'ao 落潮 (Ebb-tide), 1973; Pen liu 奔流 (Torrent), 1967, and Ts'ung hei- an tao kuang-ming 從黑暗到光明 (From Darkness to Light).

74 Shih Fan, woman novelist, was born in Kiangsu province in 1927. In her first novel, Mei-yu tsou-wan ti lu 沒有走完的路 (The Never-ending Road), she examines the bewilderment of young people today in a changing society. This was followed by six other novels as, for example, Yü wo t'ung tsai 與我同在(Stay with Me) and I ko mi-mi 一個秘密 (A Secret). Shih Fan was at one time editor of the bi-monthly journal Yehfeng 野風 (Wild Wind).

He went on to say that literature had, as a consequence, taken advantage of this freedom. One had only to look at the Taipei newspapers and literary supplements to see that pornography and crime were being peddled in the name of art. One of the main reasons for this was that the press had forgotten its "educative and moral responsibilities"[7] in trying to boost circulation by appealing to readers' taste for the sensational. However, those who wrote what went into the papers and the literary supplements shared an equal responsibility. If only writers did not have to "bow and scrape for their five bushels of rice"[77], they might be able to raise their standards. But the government too had to take some share of the blame by being too lax.

> I am not proposing that the government should interfere with writing nor that it should abolish or restrict freedom, but I am calling on my literary friends to respect freedom. There has to be a limit to freedom. If freedom is misused and if attempts are made to remedy the situation when the effects of its misuse are produced, the end result will simply be to increase the harm done.
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> I feel the need for this point of view to be stated once more for the benefit of our compatriots abroad who have the welfare of the literary world in Free China at heart.[78]

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75 Lin Shih-ts'un, "Chih-te chung - shih ti wen -t'i" 值得重視的問題 (Questions Deserving Some Attention), in Ya-chou hua-pao, No. 124, reprinted in HSLC, p.158.

76 ibid.

77 ibid., p. 159.

78 ibid.

Mu Chung-nan, the editor of Wen T'an, was less concerned to pacify the critic abroad than to see the Hsin so affair within the framework of "counter-attack" and the appropriate mental attitude that would ensure the success of "counter-attack" and a recovery of the mainland. In his opinion, this would not be helped by the kind of literature represented by Hsin so. Hsin so, he maintained, had no literary value whatsoever and was likely to do untold harm. This judgement was reinforced at a symposium,held by the Kuomintang Central Committee's propaganda section for the frontline soldier at Kinmen, at which Mu had been present. Although Hsin so had not been a subject for discussion, nevertheless, incidental references to it had elicited much "anger and condemnation"[79] among the men stationed there, he said. If those who had entered the fray on behalf of its author were to be honest with themselves, Mu said, they would have to admit that the novel was questionable. No matter what argument the author advanced to explain its creation, no matter what defence was put forward by friends and supporters of the author, Hsin so was not a good novel and was not worth all the fuss that was being made about it. The author was claiming to write in the manner of the New Wave School and to employ a new technique, a claim which, as far as he could see, was ludicrous as well as false, since the author was only using such terminology in order to cover up the fact that she was writing an obscene novel. The attacks on the

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79 Mu Chung-nan, op.cit., p. 70.

China Association of Literature and Art by "the crowd supporting pornographic work"[80] was totally uncalled for as it had only stood by its declaration of principles which had all along been to oppose obscene literature.

The present affair made Mu Chung-nan recollect a remark made by the political commentator and Chiang Kai-shek's personal secretary, T'ao Hsi-sheng 陶希聖, at the time of the Cultural Purification Movement a decade earlier concerning the Communist technique of softening up an area with literature of sex, crime and violence prior to invading the area. The Movement had been initiated with the express purpose of countering such a softening-up process. The possibility of the process taking place all over again was a thought too terrible to contemplate.

Mu then turned his attention to the journals in Hong Kong which had maintained that there were many people within the government in Taiwan who were against the ban on Hsin so. If that were the case, Mu said,

> I should like those important people who support Hsin so to stand up and let the people have a good look at them so that we taxpayers can identify their faces.
>
> A certain gentleman has said he has received very many letters from people urging him to argue the case for Hsin so. I would like the names of those letter-writers to be made public so that we may know who those people are who like reading literary works of the Hsin so variety; and, at

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80 ibid, p. 75.

> the same time, I would like us to have a simultaneous exhibition of the correspondence concerned with Hsin so so as to allow society to witness the cries of anger against and sorrow over Hsin so felt by those warriors who defend our national territory and by those patriotic youths in their letters to me ...
>
> There are those who say that one can write about the dark side of society. True. But what has that to do with writing about sex life and sexual acts as in Hsin so? There are also those who say that one can write about sex in a piece of literature. That too is true. But it depends on why you write about it and how far you go. If you write continuously about sex in order to pander to the lowest tastes or even to boost circulation, then such writing is but of the same kind of trivia as the chronicles of sex sold at the North Gate ...
>
> Kuo Liang-hui says that Hsin so presents new concepts. (Yes. Society is still opposed to incest). As for new concepts, like the description of the offensiveness of small feet on women or the misery of long hair and the encouragement of society to stop footbinding and to cut the hair, these were new concepts in the early years of the Republic. The incitement of the young to free themselves from the shackles of the feudal family and to fight for the freedom to marry, these were new concepts at the time. But what new concept does Hsin so offer? Incest![81]

Mu Chung-nan could go along with the idea of trying to protect a person or even of attacking an organization or of trying to reverse a government decree so long as the subject-matter of the work in question was of value. But the subject-matter in Hsin so, he held, had nothing to commend it, and he therefore called into question the motives of those people who were now rallying to its support,

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81 ibid., pp. 75 - 76.

particularly at a time when Taiwan was "preparing for the approach of a great storm for the sake of justice."[82]

Finally, Mu referred to an oath he had made on an occasion when officials responsible for unofficial biographies had asked Kuo Liang-hui to write the story of the young Republican heroine, Ch'iu Chin 秋瑾 — a woman who had been tortured and killed at the end of the Ch'ing dynasty for working for the Republic.[83] If Kuo Liang-hui were given this task, he had said, it would be "an insult to the martyrs of our national reconstruction,"[84] and he would drown himself in protest.[85]

The Attitude of the Old Guard of the May Fourth Movement

The strong emotions underlying Mu Chung-nan's attack on Hsin-so were notably absent among many of those writers who had once been intoxicated by the May Fourth Movement. Had a similar incident taken place in their youth, they would undoubtedly have been loud and noisy in their protests against government intervention. Now, however, they tended to agree with the view that Hsin so was an obscene novel, and although not generally in favour of a ban, felt that since the government had banned the book, there was nothing to be gained by opposing the government's decision.[86]

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82 ibid., p.77.

83 See Hummel, op.cit., vol.1, p. 169.

84 ibid.

85 Presumably in the manner of Ch'ü Yüan.

86 Sun Ch'i and Wang Chün-hsiung, op.cit., p.135.

The Literary Critic and Hsin so

There were several critics who felt an attempt should be made to isolate Hsin so from all the commotion that attended its publication and banning and to assess the novel objectively. Their efforts at evaluation consisted chiefly in comparing Hsin so with such works of fiction as Lady Chatterley's Lover, Madame Bovary and Joyce's Ulysses, or, nearer home, with Hung lou meng 紅樓夢 (Dream of the Red Chamber)[87] and Chin P'ing Mei 金瓶梅.[88] But the comments of these critics represented not so much evaluations of Hsin so's literary merit as attempts to show that what this novel had set out to portray was not unique in the world of international literature. One of the more percipient of these critics, Liu Hsin - huang 劉心皇[89], concluded that although sex did feature in these other novels, it was only of secondary interest and not the overriding concern of their authors.

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87 Hung lou meng is a romance written in the vernacular by Ts'ao Hsüeh-ch'in 曹雪芹 in the 18th century.

88 Chin P'ing Mei is a 16th century novel by an unknown author.

89 Liu Hsin-huang, poet, novelist, essayist, and literary theorist, was born in Honan province in 1916. In 1937 he published the work of fiction entitled Szu ti 死地 (The Execution Ground). In 1951 a collection of short stories were published under the title, Hsüeh, yin tsai hsüeh-ti shang 血,印在雪地上 (Blood, Imprinted on Snow). Two further collections of short stories came off the press in 1953 and yet another in 1956. His short stories are said to be realistic and full of local atmosphere. He has at least six collections of modern poems to his credit as well as twelve collections of essays and eight works on literary theory and literary criticism.

Lady Chatterley's Lover, for example, contrasted the impotency and false claims to nobility of the English aristocracy with the strength and virility of the working classes, he said, quoting Yü Ta-fu 郁達夫 .[90] Madame Bovary was an indictment of middle class society. Chin P'ing Mei highlighted the collusion between the mercantile and capitalist classes and highly-placed personalities; their highhandedness, and the humiliation suffered by the common people; and Hung lou meng, though it included both love-making and incest, was, nevertheless, a social document of some import. But what had Hsin so to offer apart from "love-making"?[91] In Liu's opinion, nothing at all. Hsin so, he felt, fell so far short of these well-known works of fiction that it was almost an insult to their authors to suggest that it could take its place among them.

A tendency to criticize content rather than literary features is, of course, a common tendency among Chinese critics because of their emphasis on the didactic function of literature. A critic who was to extend his criticism beyond an evaluation of Hsin so's content, and the sex

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90 Yü Ta-fu, novelist, essayist, poet and translator was born in Chekiang in 1896. He was one of the founder-members of the Creation Society in 1921. Yü was strongly influenced by the romantic movement, and his work is highly subjective and autobiographical. He wrote much on foreign literature. Yü went to Sumatra during the war and was killed by the Japanese in 1942. For further biographical details see Hsia, C.T.,op.cit.

91 Liu Hsin-huang, op.cit., p.85.

issue in particular, and to attempt to judge the novel as a piece of literature, was Kuo Szu-fen. Kuo, who was closely connected with the armed forces' literature programme, was willing to look at any honest attempt at creative writing with an unjaundiced eye. Kuo felt that since the term "new" and "New Wave" had been used on several occasions in connection with Hsin so, the right approach would be to see whether or not the novel was successful as an innovative work of art. However, prior to making any judgement, Kuo felt compelled to look at the technical terms being used since, to his mind, not many in Taiwan had a clear idea of what was meant by "New Wave". As far as he could see, "New Wave" was a term used abroad to describe a new trend in the film industry, wherewas in Taiwan it seemed to be used for anything that deviated from the formerly accepted norms in literature and art. However, it mattered little to Kuo Szu-fen whether a work of fiction was "new", "old", "naturalistic", "realistic" or "New Wave"-ish so long as it was good literature. After reading Hsin so he had come to the conclusion that the novel could not be so classified.

> "I acknowledge," Kuo said, "that the technique of Hsin so is new and that the author has devised a way to search for something new; that she is trying a new path. There are many places in which the pains taken by the author are clearly visible and surpass those she has taken in certain of her other novels. It is evident from the characters which are well-defined (although the majority are abnormal) that the author has sweated blood over them. Still, I am of the opinion that the story is far-fetched and that the main theme is unclear."[92]

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92 Kuo Szu-fen, "Ts'ung ch'uang-tso kuan-tien k'an 'hsin' yü Hsin so" 從創作觀點看「新」與「心鎖」 (A Look at "New" and The Lock of the Heart from the Creative Point of View), in Tso-p'in 作品 (Publications) Vol. 4, No. 8, reprinted in HSLC, p.101.

Kuo went on to explain how he felt Kuo Liang-hui had failed in the creation of her central character and to point out that the writer was demanding too much from the reader in seeking compassionate understanding for a creature of such shallow emotions as Tan-ch'i.

The same conclusion was reached by Chin Nü 金女, a young woman writer in Hong Kong. She added, however, that neither the character development nor the progression of the plot prepared one for the ending of the story which was weak and ineffective and totally misleading. The reader she said, was bound to draw the conclusion that it was not to repudiate her past and to seek absolution for her sins that Tan-ch'i had gone to Church, but to bargain with God, as she had done once before.[93]

Though Chin Nü felt the author had failed in what she had set out to do, she held that if one compared the novel with works of fiction being produced in Hong Kong, one had to concede that Hsin so was a "serious"[94] literary work, and that for that reason it could not be dismissed.

The China Association of Literature and Art seeks to clarify its position.

Most of the articles referred to here were written between February and November 1963, and, as we have seen, the China Association of Literature and Art was attacked from many quarters over its handling of the Hsin so affair.

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93 See Hsin so, p. 105.

94 Chin Nü, "Wo tui, Hsin so ti i-chien" 我對「心鎖」的意見 (My Views on The Lock of the Heart), in Tzu-yu ch'ing nien, No. 348, reprinted in HSLC, p. 123.

The time eventually came when the Association felt compelled to issue a statement to the press clarifying its position and justifying the stand it had taken. Consequently, on November 5, the Chung-yang jih-pao carried a message in which the Association justified its action on the grounds that the Association existed not only for the purpose of bringing writers together, or of studying literary theory, or of creating literature and initiating literary movements, but also for the purpose of "contributing to the great task of national recovery and national reconstruction via the power of literature."[95] It had tried to encourage and support its members according to the instructions given by the President in his Two Supplementary Chapters and had initiated a cultural purification movement in order to rid society of the pernicious influence of decadent literature. The expulstion of one of its members, therefore, was just a logical expression of its policy and had been put into effect as a disciplinary measure and in order to demonstrate with what seriousness it regarded the defiance of the Association's declared aims.

> The book, Hsin so, written by Miss Kuo Liang-hui, a member of this Association, (the statement continued) is indecent in the extreme; its contents are, moreover, so full of descriptions of incest and sexual behaviour that it will have a bad influence on social morality; on the moral atmosphere, and on the mental and physical health of young people. After the book was published, members of this Association repeatedly put forward the point of view to the Association that the author of this book should be warned and suitably punished in order to uphold the reputation of the Association and in order to maintain a correct literary spirit ..... The revocation of the membership of

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95 Wen hsieh hui, op.cit., p. 172.

> Miss Kuo Liang-hui by this Association was brought about by her writing Hsin so which manifestly contravenes the convenant agreed to by the 14th Assembly of this Association. Clause 3 of the convenant of this Association states quite clearly: 'We vow once again not to write any work which will weaken society and public morality or damage moral values.'[96]

Kuo Liang-hui had participated in the meetings of the Association. She knew the score. There was therefore no excuse for a novel such as Hsin so. Whether Hsin so had literary merit or not was beside the point. The statement went on to say:

> Earlier this Association did its utmost to promote The Cultural Purification Movement. It cannot therefore stand by without doing anything whilst a member of the Association does harm to society with pornographic works; nor can it be biased in its support and thereby destroy its own battalion of writers. Besides, the time is now ripe for the whole country at all levels to promote 'Reform - Mobilization - Combat'.[97]
>
> We work ceaselessly with all our might to strengthen psychological development, and we cannot therefore allow this kind of yellowtoxin to injure young men and women; to blight the new life of the people of our nation and to rock the foundations of our moral principles.
>
> The membership of Miss Kuo Liang-hui was revoked by this Association in order to encourage that which is good and to correct mistakes. In this

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96 ibid., pp. 172 - 173.

97 "Ko hsin, tung-yüan, chan-tou" 革新：動員：戰鬥 was a challenge issued by Chiang Kai-shek to the representatives of the China Youth Corps, some two hundred and twenty-nine young people, for whom a conference was held at Yangmingshan, Taipei, December 25 - 27, 1961. "Reform - Mobilisation - Combat" meant reviewing current literary work and reforming it; it meant being conscious of the duty of literary work during an anti-Communist period, and it meant drawing up plans for the development of literary work after the mainland had been recovered. The slogan was subsequently used to stimulate a "New" Literature and Art Movement among the armed forces and it was discussed at a special seminar organized by the China Association of Literature and Art in February 1963. See YSWl, Vol. 16.No.1,(January, 1962); YSWl Vol 16, No. 2 (February, 1962) and WINC, p. 125.

> we have not only been concerned for the reform and improvement of that rich talent which Miss Kuo herself ought hereafter to cherish, but we have also been concerned for the course the literature of our time is taking and have once again pointed out the proper (cheng-dang 正當) and precise (ming-ch'üeh 明確)direction it ought to take.[98]

Having explained its reasons for dealing with Kuo Liang-hui in the way it had, the Association now hoped the slanderous attacks would stop and that there would be no need to protect its reputation through litigation.[99]

Kuo Liang-hui on the Hsin so Affair

The final word in the Hsin so controversy should be given to Kuo Liang-hui, who in letters to friends at the end of 1963 expressed her distress at the personal abuse that had been levelled at her as a result of the novel.[100]

In the following statements, however, it is not distress that is the keynote, but a certain tone of defiance and a readiness to continue to fight for the right to express herself as she sees fit.

> It is already a year since Hsin so was banned, and it is six months since my membership with the China Association of Literature and Art was revoked.

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98 Wen hsieh hui, op.cit., p. 174.

99 ibid., p. 175.

100 [illegible] shu-chien 中國女作家書簡 (Letters by Chinese Women Writers), (Taipei, P'ing-yüan chu-pan-she 平原出版社, February,1965), pp. 124-125, 127.

During this period I have maintained silence because I did not want to waste either time or energy on a literary work that has already been completed. I want to devote myself to what I am writing now. Hsin so is not a novel with which I am completely satisfied; I can still improve in the future....

Everything has two sides to it and will draw both praise and adverse criticism. Even the truths in the Bible are greeted with scepticism by some people; so how much more, then, would not my insignificant Hsin so be subjected to criticism. But amongst the criticisms there have been many attacks on the person of its author which constitute libel, yet I have tolerated each one in order to minimize the affair...

If a school is compelled, as a last resort, to expel a student, it ought still to keep a means of retreat open to him, give him a way out. To handle the matter in this way accords with the principles of morality and education. However, after the China Association of Literature and Art had terminated my membership, it, somewhat to my surprise, went on to make news by announcing, in the manner of a paid advertisement, how I was inciting to lust and destroying morality. Does this kind of extremely damaging way of dealing with me square with the so-called 'exhoration to reform' as contained in the announcement?....

What has the China Association of Literature and Art become when, in criticizing a literary work, it excludes all discussion on whether it is literature or not and instead makes morality and purity its primary consideration - The China Association for Morality? The China Association for Purity?.....

Literature is a reflection of society and all social phenomenoa may appear in a writer's work. If you say there is something wrong in my writing, then that is society's fault and not the writer's; and if anyone is to take responsibility, it must be society and not the writer. The announcement made by The China Association of Literature and Art admonishes me for 'inciting to lust and for having a bad influence on the morals of society; on the decent moral climate, and on the mental and physical health of young people". This kind of deduction based on conjecture and not on fact is an attack on one's personal character. I should very much like to know which young people who have committed a sexual offense have been influenced by Hsin so, or which immoral act was helped in its commitment by Hsin so ....[101]

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101 Kuo Liang-hui, "Wo pu chung-shih Hsin so ho wen hsieh-hui hui-chieh" in HSLC, p. 176-180.

Kuo Liang-hui ended her statement by appealing to the reader to judge for himself the quality of her work without being dictated to by a body that had set itself up as both reader's guide and censor. She also expressed the hope that more objective and unbiased views should be allowed to prevail so that the government would be induced to review the situation and lift the ban on Hsin so.

Postscript

According to information received by the present writer, Kuo Liang-hui has not asked the China Association of Literature and Art to be reinstated in that association.[102] Neither has the ban on Hsin so been lifted, according to an article written some fifteen years after the event. The writer of the article questions the wisdom of banning Hsin so which he felt had been completely misunderstood by those who requested its ban. If morality was the yardstick by which literature was to be judged, then all books should be measured by this yardstick and not just Hsin so. The writer could think, off hand, of at least ten novels that fell within the same category as Hsin so, yet they had not been banned. Why not? he asks. He can

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102 Communication from the National Central Library, Taipei, 1976.

give no answer, but goes on to say, "Although Hsin so has been vilified, and banned, there is one thing from which its author must draw comfort, and that is, that right up to now there is not one who has charged it with not being literature."[103]

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103 Tung-fang Wang 東方望 , "Wen-t'an chiu shih hua Hsin so - shih i pen pu kai chin ti chin shu" 文壇舊事話「心鎖」：是一本不該禁的禁書 (An Old Controversy in the Literary Forum over The Lock of the Heart. A Book Which Should Never Have Been Banned), in I wen chih 藝文誌 (Art and Literature), No.154, (Taipei, July, 1978), p.12.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Armed Forces' New Literature and Art Movement

We have thus far left the Armed Forces' Literature and Art Movement in abeyance, limiting ourselves to a discussion of the literary scene in the civilian sector, although the part played by "the flotilla of naval officers"[1] in southern Taiwan has been touched upon in comments on the new poetry that was emerging on the island in the fifties and sixties.

It is now time, however, to examine in some detail the literature movements in the armed forces, for, in as much as these were initiated and encouraged by the General Political Department of the Ministry of Defense, one must assume that they reflected more accurately, perhaps, than any among civilian writers the official view of the function of the arts in society.

An important aspect of the literature and art movements in the armed forces, as elsewhere, is the manner in which external events helped to shape or initiate new phases of these movements.

The initial movement among military personnel was part of an educational and recreational programme instituted by the General Political Department as a method

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1 ACCL, Vol.1, Introduction to the Poems, p.4.

whereby morale among officers and men could be built up at a time when it looked as if the Communists were going to follow up the capture of Hainan Island with an invasion of Taiwan itself. The Korean war, of course, with the subsequent change in American policy and the deployment of the Seventh Fleet to prevent any attack on Taiwan, put an end to all Communist Government plans, if it had any, to undertake an immediate invasion.

The Fighting Literature Movement, though described as a movement to unite civilian writers, was, in fact, of equal importance to the writer in the armed forces. Indeed, the launching of the Movement had taken place at a conference on literature and art for members of the armed forces in 1955, thereby indicating that, despite the main direction of its thrust, the soldier-writer was in no way to be excluded. He was considered, indeed,to have as much of an obligation as his civilian counterpart to produce the kind of literature that would sustain the morale of his comrades in arms. His contribution was felt to be particularly necessary at this juncture since the Nationalist forces had sustained severe losses during the Taiwan Straits crisis.[2] We have seen, however, that once

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2 On October 10, 1954, the Communists resumed their shelling of the Nationalist-controlled offshore islands. On January 20, 1955, they launched an attack on Nanchi Island and inflicted severe losses on the Nationalist forces. In order to avoid a major conflict in the Taiwan Straits, the Nationalists evacuated all military personnel as well as civilians from Tachen and Nanchi Islands. See Chiu Hungdah, op.cit., pp. 144-145.

the initial excitement over the new movement had worn off, Fighting Literature lost its appeal, and "combat effectiveness" as an ingrediant in creative writing took second place to a striving for artistic excellence and to a search for new techniques and new modes of expression.[3]

In 1958, when the Communists (who had ceased shelling Kinmen and Matsu after the Mutual Defense Treaty had been signed between the United States and the Nationalist Government in 1954) suddenly began a massive artillery bombardment of Kinmen and also began to beam broadcasts to the island suggesting that an invasion was imminent,[4] civilian writers appeared to be too busy arguing about the modernization of literature to pay too much attention to the "fighting spirit" of their writing. The man in the services was not allowed to forget his obligations, however, and attempts were made to revitalize Fighting Literature through the establishment in 1962, by the Ministry of Defense, of a literature award to be given to the best exponent of such literature.[5] In addition,

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3 See Nan Kuo, "Chün chung wen-i" 軍中文藝 (Literature among the Armed Forces), in YSWl, Vol. 17, No.5, (November, 1962), p.3.

4 See Chiu Hungdah, op.cit., pp. 150-151.

5 See WINC, p. 38.

officers and men were encouraged to avail themselves of courses offered by the Literature Forum Correspondence School of Literature and Art, a school specially selected by the Ministry of Defense as being a worthy successor for the task of training the country's military personnel in the art of writing after the China Correspondence School had ceased to operate.[6]

In 1962 there was a fresh attempt to inject new life into the movement. On this occasion, however, the Crisis was not precipitated by the shelling of the off-shore Islands or the threat of invasion, but rather by adverse conditions on the mainland which resulted in unrest and a mass exodus of refugees to Hong Kong. This seemed a clear indication to the government in Taiwan that the time was ripe for a recovery of the mainland.[7] The men in the fighting services, therefore, were ordered not only to be in a state of combat readiness, but also to be prepared to guide the development of literary work in conjunction with civilian writers after the mainland had been recovered. To this end Chiang called on all writers and artists to "Reform - Mobilize - Fight".[8]

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6 See Mu Chung-nan "'Wu Szu' kan yen" 「五四」感言 (Reflections on "May Fourth") in WT, No. 23 (May, 1965), p.8.

7 See Chiu Hungdah, op.cit., pp. 158-159.

8 See WINC, p. 125 and Nan Kuo, "Tzu-ch'iang chiu-kuo yün-tung ho wen-i" 自強救國運動和文藝 (The Self-strengthening National-salvation Movement and the Arts), in YSWl, Vol. 16, No. 4, (April,1962), p.3.

We know, of course, that Chiang was restrained by the United States, and that he was forced to postpone his proposed counterattack and recovery of the mainland until such time as there might be a large-scale uprising on the mainland. The upshot of these constraints on Chiang was that greater emphasis came to be placed on political struggle and psychological warfare, and on proving the superiority of San Min Chu I over Marxism. It also came to mean putting more effort into the promotion on Taiwan of a "counter-model"[9] to the Communist system on the mainland: - a counter-model which was to embrace not just politics and social structures, but also literature and the arts.

The Reality Falls Short of the Ideal

Official records give the impression that the literature and art movement in the armed forces ran smoothly, and that the military establishment and government agencies were always on hand to help any and every artistic endeavour by the man in uniform. Certainly, discussions, competitions and exhibitions were

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9 Kinderman, Gottfried-Karl, "The Taiwan Land Reform: Its Ideological Origins and Radical Features" in Asian and African Studies, Vol.6, Special Number (Jerusalem, the Israel Oriental Society, 1970), p. 163.

held under the auspices of the General Political Department;[10] and a journal, Chün -chung wen-i 軍中文藝 (Armed Forces' Literature), which was to change its name in 1956 to Ko-ming wen-i 革命文藝 (Revolutionary Literature),[11] and which served as an outlet for literary talent in the armed forces, was published by the General Political Department. Despite this, a small voice of criticism was raised in 1962 over the fact that many writers had had to fight to have their writings published, and that publishing had proved so difficult for some that new writers had felt discouraged and the established ones had lost heart. The military establishment, the criticism ran, was not much help when it came to looking after its own writers. Secondly, so it was maintained, the soldier-writers had such a limited exposure to the world outside the barracks that their view of life was narrow and, as a consequence, the literary products that emanated from their pens

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10 See Wang Chi-ts'ung, "Chan-tou wen-i t'i-ch'u ti i-i" 戰鬥文藝提出的意義 (The Significance of the Proposal of a Fighting Literature), in YSWl, Vol. 2 No. 1 (January 1955), p. 28.

11 This journal was eventually renamed Hsin wen-i 新文藝 (New Literature). Its editorial board consisted of a mixture of military and civilian writers, the most notable of the latter being Chao Yu-p'ei 趙友培, Wang Lan, Wang Chi-ts'ung, Li Ch'en-tung, Kuo I'tung 郭衣洞, Hsieh Ping-ying and Su Hsüeh-lin See WINC,p. 317 and WIS, p. 476.

tended to appear as if they had all been cast in the same mould.[12]

The criticism must have been heeded for with Chiang Kai-shek's call to "Reform - Mobilize - Fight" came also the intimation that a "new" armed forces' literature and art movement was to be implemented in which greater stress would be placed on "making contact"[13] between creative writers and the people, of "bringing together"[14] the writer and the reader so that their sentiments might be "united".[15] The movement was welcomed as a means of putting right that which had so far been wrong with literature and art among the forces. But the greatest hopes expressed were that increased support would be forthcoming from the military establishment, and that there should be more co-operation between the three services. Thus far there had been a tendency for each service to make its own arrangements as far as literary activities were concerned, and there had been little liaison between the three services.

The "New" Literature and Art Movement

Though mooted in 1962, the Armed Forces' New Literature and Art Movement did not really get off the ground until 1965. There was, however, an interim

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12 Nan Kuo, "Kuo-chün hsin wen-i yün-tung 國軍新文藝運動 (The Armed Forces' New Literature and Art Movement), in YSWl, Vol. 16, No.2, (February,1962),p.3.

13 ibid.

14 ibid.

15 ibid.

movement initated by the Garrison Forces on Kinmen in 1964 called Wu wang tsai Chü yün-tung 毋忘在莒運動 (Don't forget we are at Chü)[16] which co-incided with the testing by China of her first atomic device, plus the subsequent exertion of pressure on the government of the United States to change her stance with regard to China's representation at the United Nations. The chief aim of this movement was to develop the spirit of perserverance, to foster "fighting morale"[17] and to increase the awareness of "the enemy's combat status"[18].

As will have been deduced from the foregoing pages of this thesis, a distinct pattern of causes is to be discerned behind the timing of Taiwan's various literature and art movements in the civilian sector, and the same can be said of the timing of the Armed Forces' New Literature and Art Movement. The successful testing of a nuclear device by the People's Republic of China on October 16, 1964, placed China in a stronger bargaining position vis

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16 This has also been translated as, "Don't forget the lesson of Chü" (Sheng-li chih kuang 勝利之光 Torch of Victory, No. 205, January 1972), or as "Remember the lesson of Chü" (Free China Review, January, 1965, p.69) or just "Remember Chü", (China Yearbook 1965-66, p. 210). According to China Yearbook 1975, (p. 175) Chü was a fortress city in the south-west of what is now Shantung which remained free when the neighbouring state of Ch'i was overrun by invaders during the period of the Warring States in 284 B.C. The people of Chü refused to surrender and continued to fight. They remained free and as a result of their stand, all the cities of Ch'i were liberated.

17 Free China Review, (January, 1965), p. 69.

18 ibid. See also China Yearbook 1965-66, p.210.

à vis the rest of the world and enhanced the Peking Government's chances of supplanting the Nationalist representative in the United Nations. But this event had been preceded by a slight shift in United States policy as a consequence of which overtures were made to improve relations with mainland China. Although these initial attempts at reconciliation were rejected by China, the government in Taiwan was well aware of the "adverse nature of the trend in the international arena."[19]

Internally, as far as the world of literature was concerned, new poets were breaking new ground, in many cases alienating both fellow-poets and the public; a controversy had taken place (the reverberations of which were still being felt) on the merits or otherwise of wholesale westernization, and this had been both fierce and bitter; fiction writers were turning out literature in the manner of existentialist and realist writers in the West and were succeeding in shocking the conservative elements of society. All this could have been kept in check with censorship which, as we know, did exist, but censorship was applied less stringently to literature than to drama or the film. A rigorous censorship of literature would undoubtedly have damaged the image of a free and democratic state which Taiwan was eager to foster and would have offended the government's

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19 Chiu Hungdah, op.cit., pp. 161-162.

American supporters. The civilian writer therefore was relatively free to write as he pleased, although the cases of Kuo Liang-hui, Li Ao, Po Yang 柏楊 [20] and Ch'en Ying-chen 陳映真 [21] demonstrate that there were limits beyond which it was inadvisable to go. The literary workers in the armed forces, however, being subject to regimentation, military discipline and political control were more likely to be induced to work towards a common goal and "to march in step"[22] with each other and with the government. Since the civilian

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20 Po Yang was the pen name used by Kuo I-tung when writing tsa-wen. His biography appears in Chapter Ten.

21 Ch'en Ying-chen was born in Ying-ko, Taipei, in 1937. He is a graduate of the Foreign Languages Department, Tamkang College of Arts and Sciences, Taipei. Ch'en wrote his first short story "Mien - t'an" 麵攤 (The Noodle Stall) in 1959 when a second-year student. This was followed in 1960 by such stories as "Kuhsiang", 故鄉 (My Hometown) and, Hsiang-ts'un chiao-shih" 鄉村教師 (The Country Teacher). His reputation as a serious writer was assured with the publication in 1964 of "Chiang-chün tsu" 將軍族 (A Family of Generals). In 1967 when Ch'en was on the point of leaving Taiwan for the United States to further his studies, he was arrested and charged with being connected with the Taiwan Independence Movement. He was sentenced to ten years imprisonment. Joseph Lau makes the following comment on Ch'en Ying-chen, "Ch'en Ying-chen may not be a great writer, his output is relatively small and his style is sometimes embarrassing, yet he is a very important writer. He is important because he is unique. Almost alone of his contemporaries, he addresses himself to some of the most sensitive problems of his time". See "'How Much Truth Can a Blade of Grass Carry?': Ch'en Ying-chen and the Emergence of Native Taiwanese Writers" in Journal of Asian Studies, Vol. XXXII, No. 4, (August, 1973), p. 632.

22 WINC, p. 323.

writers had fallen short of government expectations, it was hoped that the writer in the armed forces would set an example to his civilian counterpart, and that he would produce a literature that would be so dynamic it would inspire in the civilian writer the desire to write in a similar vein. Thus military and civilian writers together would influence and educate society as a whole, first in Taiwan, but later, and especially, on the mainland following its recovery by the Nationalist Chinese.

The Launching of the Movement

"In order to utilize the power of literature and art to shape the mood of officers and men; to arouse fighting men to a high emotional response; to infuse a generous measure of psychological fighting power and to strengthen the cultural war against the Communists,"[23] the Ministry of Defense launched the Armed Forces' "New" Literature and Art Movement at a conference at the Political Staff College in the Taipei suburb of Pei-t'ou on April 8 and 9, 1965. Five hundred literary and art workers and representatives of the various news media, both military and civilian, gathered to hear a succession of distinguished guest-speakers.

The two-day conference started at 8 o'clock on the morning of April 8 with study and instruction, and this was followed by an address by Major-General Hu Chuang-ju 胡莊如 from the General Political Department who gave a report on the general condition of

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23 WIS, p. 983.

the arts in the armed forces and put forward a few ideas regarding this "new" literature and art movement. Major-General Hu started off by reminding his audience that each age produced a literature that was different from the preceding age, and that each nation had its own individual characteristics. Because the Chinese people loved peace, loyalty and honesty, what they consequently looked for in their literature was simplicity and honesty of content, sincerity and cordiality of tone, generosity, open-mindedness, elegance and superiority of style. He saw the Armed Forces' Literature and Art Movement as having passed through two phases: the combatant period and the revolutionary period, and that it was now entering into its third phase which was "The Start of the New Literature and Art Movement."[24]

Major General Hu ended his address by saying that since San Min Chu I was the foundation on which the nation was built, literary and artistic thought ought to accord with San Min Chu I; it ought to be national in character, revolutionary in its ideology, and combatant in spirit. Only thus would the new literature and art meet the demands of the times.

This speech was followed by one given by the political commentator and Chiang Kai-shek's personal secretary, T'ao Hsi-sheng, 陶希聖 who briefly summarized Chiang's views on the arts as expressed in his Two Supplementary Chapters. He then went on to review the effect of the arts on man through the ages and also

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[24] WINC. P. 326.

the manner in which culture, though subjected to outside influences by which it was transformed, nevertheless, contrived to remain Chinese in character. This more than anything else, he maintained, had ensured continuity despite political upheaval.[25]

T'ao Hsi-sheng's remarks were no doubt meant as a prelude to the speech by the celebrity speaker at the midday opening ceremony, which was the President himself. In his speech to the 500 or more delegates present, Chiang Kai-shek pointed out that the arts could not really be separated into military art and civilian art; into war-time art or peace-time art. However, by its very nature the arts among members of the armed forces were bound to have a special feature not prevalent in civilian writing or other art forms, namely, a quality that responded to the psychology of the battlefield, an ingredient that enhanced the soldierly virtue of vengeance and quickened the spirit of combat and sacrifice. And it was because of this special feature, that the arts more than anything else were of such importance on the battlefield. When the spirit was flagging and courage was wearing thin, the sight of a stirring picture, the sound of a martial tune, were enough to put life back into the soldier. The same was true of poetry, fiction, drama, the dance and broadcasting, and all other means of artistic expression. The power of the arts "to infect"[26] was unparalled.

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25 ibid., p. 324, 326-327.

26 ibid., p. 519.

The key to the successful command of men in former times had lain in "praise, censure, control and indoctrination"[27] but these four terms could just as well be applied to the arts in the armed forces as to the men in as much as the main aim of the arts in a military context was "to shape the frame of mind, to regulate the inner and outer man, and to publicize and exalt the soldierly virtues."[28] In other words, in order to "direct" troops, it was of supreme importance to "direct" their minds. This was the method applied in the psychological training that went on in the armed forces. "if only everyone", said Chiang, no doubt having in mind the less co-operative civilian writer and artist, "were able together to strengthen the armament of thought and cultivate the fighting capacity of the spirit, then we would be able to speed the victory and success of this sacred war of counter-attack and national recovery."[29]

The President then turned his attention to Communist literature and art which he said had as its starting-point dialectical materialism. This found expression as opposition, contradiction and negation. The literature

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27 ibid., p. 520.

28 ibid.

29 ibid.

that resulted from this was characterized by its cruelty, tyranny, hatred, destruction, deceit and cunning. The point of departure as far as literature in the Republic of China was concerned, however, was San Min Chu I, and its attributes were, independence, equality, freedom as well as universal love, peace, wisdom, faith, humanity, courage and solemnity. A literature and art among the armed forces which took humanity (jen 仁) as its frame of reference, would be honest, just and upright; a combination of qualities that were without peer.

So that literary and art workers would have "a compass"[30] to guide them in their creative work during the years to come, Chiang Kai-shek put forward twelve instructions or guidelines which he urged his audience to adhere to. These were:

1. To exalt the spirit of national benevolence.
2. To revive the spirit of revolutionary soldierly virtue.
3. To stimulate the spirit of impassioned struggle.
4. To bring into full play the spirit of mutual co-operation with the masses.
5. To put into practice the spirit in which deeds match words.
6. To stir up the spirit of optimism and fearlessness.
7. To arouse the creative spirit of adventure.

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30 WIS, p. 104.

8. To encourage the advancement of that spirit which takes on responsibilities in a positive manner.
9. To uplift the spirit of truth-seeking.
10. To harden the spirit of vengeance in order to wipe out national humiliation.
11. To discipline and polish that spirit of self-sacrifice so that one is willing to die for one's country.
12. To cultivate the spirit of success and virtue.

Chiang's address with its twelve "mental directives for literary and art work"[31] was seen, so the Chung-hua min-kuo wen-i shih says, as "a brilliant light"[32] by those writers who at the time were "bewildered and confused"[33] regarding their work. It made them realise that "a bright future"[34] lay ahead. The twelve guidelines had, it was maintained, the effect of "sweeping clean away"[35] those many "existing disorders and diverging currents of thought in the literary arena."[36]

The afternoon of the first day of the conference was devoted to an examination of "Communist plots against Taiwan."[37] The speaker was the political commentator and professor at National War College, Ho Hao-jo 何浩若 (Thomas Ho), who in a fifty minute

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31 ibid.
32 ibid.
33. ibid.
34 ibid.
35 ibid.
36 ibid.
37 WINC,p. 327.

talk examined in great detail the manner in which international Communism had used literature and art to infiltrate and to sabotage the non-Communist countries. There was only one way in which to halt the spread of the Communist poisons conveyed in its literature and art, he said, and that was "to hasten to improve the contents of our literature and art"[38] and to counter with greater vigour and courage the essence of Communism. Only thus would the approaching crisis of China's national literature be averted.

The three major addresses given by Hu Chuang-ju, Chiang Kai-shek and Ho Hao-jo formed the subject-matter of group discussions held by the assembled artists and writers on the late afternoon of the first day of the conference. The delegates had been divided into 16 groups according to the literary genres or artistic forms with which they were involved; thus, those who were concerned with the dance, with music, folk-art, broadcasting, film-making or the plastic arts formed into their respective groups, whilst those concerned with literary theory (11 writers), fiction (66 writers) the essay (33 writers), poetry (24) and drama(44)[39] formed into their groups.

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38 ibid.

39 ibid., pp. 335-336.

The evening, however, was set aside for the performance of a four-act play entitled, Don't forget we are at Chü which was staged by the Ministry of Defense's own drama company in ancient costume in the hall of the Political Staff College.[40]

April 9, 1965

The second day of the conference followed very much the same pattern as the first except that on this occasion the main speaker was the Minister of Defense, Chiang Ching-kuo. He began his talk by reminding his audience that the assembled company, whether political staff, officers, men, reservists, or representatives of the civilian sector of the community, were all artists of no mean accomplishment who appropriately could be called "the pick of the new literary and art workers."[41] What influence would they not have on the future direction of the arts, he said, after having experienced a conference of this kind.

The armed forces, Chiang Ching-kuo continued, had three major objectives in mind when promoting this new literature and art movement: 1. to draw up a battleline in national literature and art, 2. to lead literary and artistic thought, 3. to realize the combat potential of literature and art. The first would be accomplished by writers and artists making a united effort to form a battleline with their Leader at the centre, the effect of which would be to bond together the great majority of

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40 ibid. p. 334.

41 ibid. p. 328.

literary and art workers who would take on the sacred responsibility of counterattack and national recovery. As far as leading the current of thought in literature and art was concerned, he said, the way to go about it was to arouse in officers and men that spirit which draws on the shared hatred for the enemy so that each one saw it as his individual responsibility to inspire in others the spirit of sacrifice and struggle, thereby providng the motive force for the creation of a new literary and artistic tide of thought. The realization of the combat potential of the arts could only be accomplished by each literary and art "warrior", with revolution and victory in his sight, developing his talents to the full.[42]

How these talents were to be developed to the full and how each genre was to play its part in the development of the "fighting power of the three services"[43] was to be worked out by each group individually according to the genre it represented, and 12 resolutions were passed at the conference with regard to what each genre should promote. Those concerned with fiction, for example, were to promote the spirit of combat; were to seek widely for anti-Communist and revolutionary themes, and were to find out which mode of presentation was most

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42 ibid.

43 ibid., p. 329.

effective in "moulding the disposition of officers and men"[44] and adding strength to their fighting power. As far as poetry was concerned, it was resolved to promote criticism; to cultivate the appreciation of poetry and to advance that poetry which exhibited the national spirit. Whatever the genre, be it literature, the fine arts, music, drama etc. each group concerned with that genre was to work on establishing a national style and on meeting the demand of the times, namely counterattack.

The findings of the various groups were reported back to the plenary sessions which finally considered more than twenty proposals, the first being the establishment of an advisory counsel for the new movement. Other proposals were: the institution of an award in order to encourage servicemen to participate in artistic endeavour; to expand the literary supplements of the journals for younger "warriors" and in particular the journal New Literature[45]; to set up a plant for the making of records so that musical talent could be preserved for

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44 ibid.

45 See footnote 11.

posterity; to establish a literary and art association for members of the armed forces; to construct a theatre for the three services so as to develop the drama movement;[46] to establish an armed forces' correspondence school; to request the Political Staff College to increase their intake of students of music, the fine arts and journalism and to employ the talents of the students it trained in the Drama Department; to strengthen and utilize existing agencies for cultural displays; to open bookshops for the sale of "new" literature and art and to assist in the publication of literature produced by the man in the services; to build cultural halls or galleries in the military camps; to invigorate the film-making industry; to vitalize national music in order to stir up popular sentiment and raise morale.

All these motions were adopted, as were others of a less concrete nature as, for example, the motion to mobilize artistic power in the service of counterattack and national recovery.[47]

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46 The biggest theatrical organizations in Taiwan have been the various troupes sponsored by the General Political Department of the Ministry of Defense. The Drama Department of the Political Staff College has turned out many playwrights, directors, actors, stage designers, musicians and technicians who are now working with military theatrical troupes. See TCML,pp. 35-36.

47 For the complete range of motions proposed and adopted see WINC, pp. 328-331.

The conference also moved that a telegram be sent to fellow-writers and artists on the mainland expressing sympathy and support and appealing for co-operation in the overturn of the present regime. The cable, (ca.650 characters long) referred to the tyranny on the mainland under Mao Tse-tung; to thought-reform, brain-washing, and confession; to the fates of Hu Feng, Ting Ling and Yang Hsien-chen 楊獻珍 [48], and to the type of literature the mainland writer was supposed to turn out - literature for the peasant, worker and the soldier with as its main theme the glorification of the class struggle, the writing of which,it was suggested, must cause considerable anguish. Although the writer and artist in Taiwan and on the mainland lived in two different worlds, the cable ran, there was not a day when those in Taiwan did not think of and feel concerned for their mainland counterparts. In order to deliver their compatriots, those writers and artists serving in the armed forces had initiated a new literature and art movement and had sworn to have Truth as their objective and Humanity as their motive power. Together they sought

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48 Yang Hsien-chen, born in Hupeh in 1899, is a Marxist philosopher. He was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist party and president of Higher Party School until the early 1960's. Yang fell from grace for being a Marxist rather than a Maoist. For further biographical details see Klein & Clark, op.cit. Vol2, pp. 973-975.

to be creative because of their love for their country and their people, and because of the hatred they bore against dictatorship and tyranny. "We hope", the cable ended, "that you, as a body, will join the ranks of anti-Communist literature and art workers ... and let our free spirits unite together. We offer to contribute our intellect, our blood and sweat for the sake of our suffering compatriots so that together we may bear the burden of annihilating Chu and Mao and once again take on the great responsibility of building the country."[49]

The Manifesto

The various major writers' associations had each issued a manifesto upon their inauguration and in as much as many of their members had close ties with the Kuomintang, the manifestos can be seen as expressing the Kuomintang point of view vis à vis the arts. But up to this point policy statements had been fragmentary and ad hoc rather than representative of reflection on the subject as a whole. A manifesto that was drawn up by The First Armed Forces' New Literature and Art Conference in April, 1965, however, became one of the reagents that finally caused the Kuomintang to formulate a total and overarching policy two years later at the Fifth Plenary Session of its Ninth Central Committee

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49 WINC, p. 333.

held in November 1967.[50] We must therefore examine the manifesto in some detail.

The manifesto started off by saying that the times in which we live are unprecedented. Never before had science taken such enormous strides. Man had been projected into the space age, yet, at the same time man was more of a slave under a collective economy than he had ever been during the Middle Ages. On one side (i.e. the Taiwan side), people enjoyed civil rights within a democracy, but on the other side, they were oppressed by a despotic system, and had neither the freedom to govern, to live or to think. Nor did they have the freedom "to keep silent,"[51] but were forced to join the shouting, flagwaving mob that attacked Hu Feng, Ting Ling and others. However, darkness would one day give way to light. If science was able to make waterfalls into motive power and change deserts into fertile land, why should not the anti-Communist revolution enable the darkness to be vanquished by the light. This was the mission of those of the Chinese people who were governed by their conscience and by their sense of righteousness. It was a mission to be undertaken not only for the sake of fellow-countrymen on the mainland, but also for the sake of mankind as a whole.

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50 See WIS, p. 106.

51 ibid., p. 986.

Literature and art, the manifesto read, was not just a reflection of the great periods of history, but it was also a clarion call. The cultural renaissance of the 15th century, for example, brought to an end the Dark Ages in Europe. Romantic literature heralded the great tide of democracy in the West. The relationship between the arts and great periods of history was like that between the heart and the pulse. Consequently, the arts today ought similarly to stir man in such a manner that tens of thousands of people would participate in "a righteous revolution"[52].

A look at the current of thought of present-day literature and art in Taiwan revealed a tendency to lean towards the literature and art of the extremes in Western culture. Admittedly, some great creative work had resulted from this bias; however, by and large, work that followed these trends was mechanical, heartless and decadent. In becoming more and more extreme, it would in the end go off on a tangent. No wonder the world of literature in the West talked about "the lost generation."[53]

In China the great helmsman of Chinese thought was the Founding Father, Sun Yat-sen, acknowledged for his greatness around the world; and the target to aim for was his Three Principles of the people. However, there were those creative writers and artists who, mistaken in their preferences and misjudging the sentiments of the people, did not heed the commands of this great thinker,

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52 ibid.

53 ibid., p. 987.

but instead introduced all kinds of harmful and pathological ideas which led China's youth astray and resulted in the mainland being drawn behind the iron curtain. This was a tragedy not just for literature and art, but for China. The bitter experience of the struggle against Communism of China's millions was the same bitter experience of those engaged in the literature and art movement.

However, having lost the battle in the field of the arts in the past, there was now a greater awareness of the importance of literature and art in the anti-Communist struggle. The ideological struggle had to precede the military struggle. Those in the armed forces who liked good literature and art or who were engaged in literary or artistic pursuits understood the need for the arts to be guided by The Three Principles of the People as espoused by Sun Yat-sen, and by ethics, democracy and science as espoused by Chiang Kai-shek. This was a lesson to be learnt not just by literary and art workers in the armed forces, but by all of China's literary and art workers.

As far as one's stance towards Western culture was concerned, the manifesto continued, a guideline was to be found in Sun Yat-sen's The Three Principles of the People. Sun's attitude towards the blending of the best of Eastern and Western cultures was governed by the Confucian spirit of "affection for one's own, and respect for that which is different" (t'ung tse hsiangch'in,

i tse hsiang ching 同則相親 異則相敬).[James Legge in his translation of the Li Chi 禮記 (Book of Rites) renders the sentence, "From union comes mutual affection; from difference, mutual respect." See Book of Rites, University Books Inc., reprint, 2 vols., (New York, University Books, 1967), vol.2, p.98] If this precept was allowed to be the guiding principle, then there would be no careless and irresponsible denial of one's own traditional culture, nor would there be obstinate conservatism and complete inflexibility. As far as Western culture was concerned, one should not hold oneself in such low esteem that one opted for complete westernization, nor should one be so arrogant and conceited that one underestimated it. One's attitude should be governed by the Chinse "spirit of harmony" (chung-ho ching-shen 中和精神).[54] Being "selective"[55] yet being ready to allow for "a harmonious blending"[56] was the answer. ".... we do not want just to absorb the best of each school of thought, but we want to start a culture to be held in common by the whole of mankind. We do not want just to have a blending of East and West, but we want to start a culture which will be common to all mankind."[57] A thorough understanding of the inter-

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54 ibid. p. 988.

55 ibid.

56 ibid.

57 ibid.

relationship between East and West should guide the development of Chinese culture, and the same understanding should also direct China's literature and art movement. The painful lessons of the past examined in the light of this principle ought to serve as a guideline for the present literature and art movement now being initiated as an expression of one's love of the arts and as an extension of the 'Don't forget we are at Chü Movement.'

> The new literature and art we are advocating will be a San Min Chu I new literature and art which will have ethics, democracy and science as their content. They will be national in character, revolutionary in consciousness and combative in spirit and will be powerful enough to overcome the opposition, the contradictions, the negativeness of the ugly and crude literature and art of the Communists. A great and glorious San Min Chu I literature and art, they will pay special attention to [the themes] of independence, equality, freedom, universal love, harmony and tolerance. As for their major content:
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> 1. The ethical content of the new literature and art is to be found in the manifestation of a genuine national sentiment which is nothing other than the very essence of democracy. At the present time in which international relations are growing daily more close, we must extend ourselves beyond the sphere of the family and the clan to the sphere of the nation as a whole in the spirit of China's traditional culture which 'Revives states that have been extinguished; restores families whose lines of succession have been broken,'[58] and promote the ideal of all nations being equal. With humanity as our primary consideration, we must promote mutual respect for the special features in each people's literature and art. Only when there is mutual respect between people for each other's literature and art - when those special characteristics, both similar or different, are freely and amicably

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58 The quotation is taken from Lun Yü 論語 (The Confucian Analects) Book XX. See Legge, James, The Four Books, Hong Kong University Press reprint, (S. Pasadena, Ione Perkins), p. 302.

manifested - will a dazzling spring dawn for this world. We do not have the responsibility only to create works of art which represent the distress of our people in order to rally military men nationwide to offer themselves as a body to defend our great anti-Communist revolution, but we must, also, entertain the ambition to create works of art which will represent our national characteristics and combine them with the great works of art of other people in the world so that together we may build an even greater new world for all to enjoy.

II. The democratic content of the new literature and art is to be found in the manifestation of good legal and constitutional systems which is nothing other than the very essence of The Principle of the People's Rights. It will not have as its theme the freedom of the individual as represented by Western Romanticism, because the freedom of the individual as represented by Romanticism has as its starting point the rights of the individual which in the end cannot avoid the creation of conflict between the rights of the indivudal and the rights of the whole community.

The new literature and art will accord with the concept of responsibility as found in China's traditional culture according to which one 'First grieves for the sorrows of the world, and then rejoices over the joys of the world'.[59] They will also accord with the Father of the Republic's concept of true equality and service.[60] We are here not talking solely about political rights, but about political responsibility which is more important even than rights. What this expresses is this: [it is not a case of] what one can get out of this nation or out of this society, but what one can contribute to this nation or to this society. [This political responsibility] is not a concept which directs mankind along the wrong path of factionalism and strife, but it directs mankind towards a new society in which there is mutual help and co-operation.

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59 The quotation is taken from an essay by the Sung dynasty scholar, official, reformist, Fan Chung-yen 范仲淹 (989-1052). See Nivison, David S. and Wright, A.F., Confucianism in Action, (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1959), pp. 99 - 103.

60 P'ing-teng fu-wu 平等服務 "Everyone should make service, not exploitation, his aim." Sun Yat-sen, The Three Principles of the People, (Taipei, China Publishing Co.) pp. 90-91.

III. The scientific content of the new literature and art is to be found in the manifestation of the perfect ideal of human life which is nothing other than the very essence of The Principle of the People's Livelihood. We base ourselves on the idea that all living things may multiply and live in comfort, and on the ideal of wealth for everyone through the efforts and work of everyone. We shall not adopt the scientific approach of knowledge alone, but we shall adopt'a science which fuses knowledge with morality' so that science will serve the life of man. We must value the scientific method, but we must attach even greater importance to the aims and values of science. We want to employ science in order to enlarge the scope of the arts. We want even more to make use of the function of the arts in order to advance the service of science to humanity. What we want to develop is a science based on The People's Livelihood and not a science which is lethal to man. We want every single person to fight for that perfect human life which enjoys security, affluence and happiness so that there can be established a new world in which all may enjoy the benefits of science.

President Chiang has said, 'History is the route man takes, the cosmos is his stage.' Man is the root of everything. The aim of the new literature and art movement is to increase the dignity of human nature and to try to find happiness for mankind. In using modern terminology to describe this lofty ideal of the arts, there is no reason why one cannot call it 'humanism'. However, we believe that it is even more positive than the 'humanism' of the 15th century, and it is even more progressive than the 'neo-humanism' of the 18th century. For this reason, therefore, the new literature and art may also be called 'progressive humanism', (chin-pu ti jen-wen chu-i 進步的人文主義).[61]

We are well aware that our cultivation of the arts is such that we do not dare address ourselves to these great problems of our country and of our times; however, because we have been impelled from without to take on the mission of our times and been constrained from within by our consciences to love our country and deliver our compatriots on the mainland, we have finally, embracing an incomparable courage, put forward the proposal for this new literature and art movement.

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61 WIS, 990.

> We hope that this new literature and art will be able to exalt the spirit of national benevolence; revive the spirit of revolutionary soldierly virtues; stimulate the spirit of impassioned struggle; bring into full play the spirit of corporate mutual aid; put into practice the spirit on which deeds match words; encourage the spirit of optimism and fearlessness; encourage the advancement of that spirit which takes on responsibility in a positive manner; uplift the spirit of truth-seeking; harden the spirit of vengeance in order to wipe out national humiliation; discipline and polish that spirit of self-sacrifice so that one is willing to die for one's country; and cultivate the spirit of success and virtue.
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> On the strength of our love for our country, our people, our fellow-countrymen on the mainland, we dare to beseech those our seniors both at home and abroad as well as on the mainland who are resolutely opposed to Communism and have a passionate love of the arts; and we beseech our young friends who are on the point of starting an artistic career, to give to these our proposals, which we present for their correction, their sympathy, their support and their co-operation. Let us hand in hand together declare war on yellow literature which induces men to wantonness and crime, and on red literature which is vindictive and savage, and let us together complete, as President Chiang pointed out, the reconstruction of a glorious, even newer age based on The Three Principles of the People in which there will never again be slavery, hunger and the fear of aggression.'[62]

Though literature and art conferences for military personnel were to be held in subsequent years[63], with

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62 The manifesto is reproduced in WIS, pp. 986-990 and in WINC, pp. 521-525.

63 The second conference was held in November, 1966; the third in November, 1967; the fourth in December 1969; the fifth in November, 1971, and the sixth in October, 1973. See WIS, p. 985.

each conference issuing its own declaration, nevertheless, this first manifesto from this first conference was looked upon as an "historical document"[64], a blueprint for future artistic endeavour. It was considered to be not just a statement "to stir up the will"[65] of armed forces writers and artists, but as a means of "pointing out the course to which civilian literary and art workers ought henceforth to devote their energies."[66]

The Finale

The conference was drawn to a close by the Director of the General Political Department, General Kao Kuei-yüan 高魁元, after the staging of an experimental performance at the Political Staff College. It was experimental in the sense that the performance consisted of a mixture of songs, light music, a play and an opera. The common theme that bound them all together, however, was the spirit of nationalism, revolution and combat. It was no doubt meant as a prototype to be copied on future occasions.[67]

Concrete Results from the Armed Forces Conference

One of the more immediate effects of this first conference for members of the armed forces was a greater feeling of cohesion and more co-operation between the three

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64 ibid.

65 ibid.

66 ibid.

67 See WINC, p. 335.

branches of the services. In the past each branch had tended to make separate arrangements; hold its own exhibitions or organize its own seminars and discussion meetings. The establishment of an arts and activities centre by the Ministry of Defense in August, 1965, helped to bring writers and artists in the services closer together. After the centre's official opening on September 3, 1965, it became the venue for spoken dramas, Chinese operas, songs and dance by the combined service forces' drama unit; music by military bands, and exhibitions of paintings, calligraphy and the plastic arts.[68]

Two other motions adopted at the conference were also put into immediate effect, namely, the formation of an advisory counsel to assist and guide exponents of the new literature and art, and the establishment of an award to be given to the writer or artist who in his artistic creation on a given theme best managed to convey the spirit of nationalism, revolution and combat. Called The Armed Forces' Golden Statue Award, it was awarded for the first time in October of the same year. The themes on which authors were expected to write, were, 1. the glorious history of the national revolution, 2. the exposure of the bankruptcy of the Communist tyranny, and 3. the propagation and glorification of the spirit of "Don't forget we are at Chü".

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68 ibid., pp. 134-135, 211,230, 323.

The advisory counsel, whose duty it was to judge the entries, was under the chairmanship of the Executive Officer of the General Political Department, Lieutenant-General Wang Sheng 王昇 . On the counsel (made up of some eighty-four civilian and military writers and artists) was the novelist and playwright, Colonel T'ien Yüan 天園 [69] whose work commanded respect not just from members of the armed forces, but from civilian writers as well.

At a gathering held for award winners and pressmen, Colonel T'ien Yüan explained the process of selection and

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69 T'ien Yüan was born into a well-to-do farming family in Shantung in 1927. He was brought up by his great-grandfather and grandfather when his father remarried after the death of his mother. The family moved several times due to banditry in the region. In 1940 T'ien Yüan left home to study in Anhwei. In 1942 he gained entry to a teacher training college offering short, condensed courses. Upon the completion of the course he went to Sian. T'ien Yüan joined the army towards the end of the Sino-Japanese war and was largely responsible for information and cultural work. Before coming to Taiwan he was stationed at Kinmen where he became the editor of Li hsing pao 力行報 . Since coming to Taiwan T'ien Yüan has written over twenty-four novels, six collections of short stories and a collection of essays and autobiographical notes. He won the China Association of Literature and Art Award in 1964; the Chia Hsin Cultural and Literary Foundation Award in 1965, and the Chungshan Award for fiction in 1968. His writing is noted for its natural, flowing and lucid style. T'ien Yüan was discharged from the army in 1971. Among his novels, are, Ch'ao Yang 朝陽 (Towards the Sun), 1965 and Yüan huan 圓環 (The Circle), 1968. The former deals with the seemingly irrecondible attitudes of Taiwanese and mainlanders towards each other. It solves the problem through marriage between second-generation Taiwanese and mainlander.

judgement and the criteria applied. Some 3043 entries spanning all genres had been received. These were processed through seventeen smaller organizations which then passed on their recommendations to the final adjudicating committee. The final selection was judged on technique, content and artistic attainment, and the names of the winners were subsequently sent to the Chief of General Staff for his stamp of approval, after which the results were made public by the various news media.

In the fiction and poetry section, for example, the best works of fiction, Hsüeh yü huo ti nien-tai 血與火的年代 (The Age of Blood and Fire), Hung Liu 洪流 (Torrent), Tao hsia ti ch'i 倒下的旗 (The Fallen Flag), Nu hai chung hun 怒海忠魂 (The Loyal Soul of the Raging Sea)[70] won prizes ranging from N.T. $20.000 to N.T.$50.000, and in the poetry section, first prize went to Teng Tzu-chang 鄧滋璋 in the Air Force for his poem, Ko-ming chih ko 革命之歌 (The Song of the Revolution), and the first prize for a short poem went to Chang T'eng-chiao 張騰蛟 in the Army for his poem Men 門 (The Door).[71]

The award-giving ceremony and other festive functions took place over a three-day period from October 30 to November 1, 1965, the climax being, of course, the presentation ceremony in the presence of some 300 people

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70 See WINC, p. 343.

71 ibid., p. 344.

who included representatives from the cultural and educational fields as well as government departments.

Prior to the actual ceremony, each award winner was individually presented to Chiang Ching-kuo who commended them for their efforts and praised them for their contribution to the nation and to the armed forces. He exhorted them to continue to create works that were idealistic and fearless in temper. Only literature which was created out of the pursuit for ideals, he said, had any real historical value or any significance for the times. Whether they wrote fiction, poetry, drama or song-lyrics, they should write with confidence because they were on the side of justice. Only literature that had this confidence had the power to influence popular sentiment and morale.

"When I see writers in the armed forces creating such an abundance of outstanding literary work", he said, "I think the President must also by very happy."[72]

Chiang Ching-kuo ended his exhortation by stressing the importance of the arts as a psychological weapon which was not limited by time or space; it was one of the most modern weapons there was and should not only be used at the actual time of counterattack but also in the period following upon a successful counterattack on the mainland when a San Min Chu I new China was being established.

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72 ibid, p. 352.

Chiang Ching-kuo was to meet the winners again at a gathering attended also by members of the civilian literary and artistic world, educationists and members of the press. This gave him the opportunity to stress the inseparability of civilian art and military art and the need for both to work together for a new revolutionary anti-Communist literature and art. Troops in battle used guns, planes, missiles and many other modern weapons, he said, but more effective than these even, were the psychological weapons which each of those present was able to produce or improve upon. He firmly believed that with the use of these kinds of psychological weapons the recovery of the mainland, the defeat of the enemy and a final victory, were a certainty.

Similar sentiments were expressed by the Chief of General Staff, General Li Yü-hsi 黎玉璽 in a speech given at a banquet in honour of the award winners. The General told his audience that the reason for October 31 being chosen as the day for the award-giving ceremony was because it was the birthday of the President, and what better present could the armed forces give him than the finest fruits of the Armed Forces New LIterature and Art Movement as a demonstration of the psychological battle strength of the three armed services under his leadership.

During the six months following the "historic"[73]

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73 ibid., p. 355.

conference on the arts, General Li said, the new movement had been promoted with vigour by both officers and men. Those who had struggled with artistic creation had been supported and cherished by their comrades. The fostering of talent and the creation of art, he said, was both time-consuming and arduous, for no fine work of art was created overnight or perfected without much mental anguish; however, the effect of the end product was immeasurable. One had only to be reminded of how Chang Liang [the tactician who helped Liu Pang found the Han dynasty] used the songs of the people of Ch'u to put to rout the army of Hsiang Yü [who contended with Liu Pang for the Throne, and lost] or of how the "Marseillais" and the Tricolour during the French Revolution inspired the confidence to win. Both Chinese history and the history of other countries were full of examples of a like nature. The Wuchang Uprising[74] and the Northern Expedition[75], events in more recent history, had shown how the impossible had been made possible. The same had now to apply to the "sacred war"[76] against Communism and for the recovery of the mainland.

The abundance of the harvest despite the relatively short timespan between the convention and the present ceremony witnessed to three things, said General Li,

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74 The Wuchang Uprising launched the revolution that ultimately overthrew the Manchu dynasty.

75 The Northern Expedition, launched from Canton in June, 1926, with Chiang Kai-shek as commander-in-chief, broke the power of the warlords and unified the country.

76 WINC, p. 355.

namely, the continuation of the revolutionary tradition of combat and artistic creation by the literary and art workers in the armed forces, as well as their patriotism; the surprising rise in the standard of culture in the armed forces and the manner in which it was national in character; and the invincibile psychological battle strength to be found in officers and men as a result of the pooling and training of manpower over the last ten years. This was without parallel in the armed forces of other countries; and was certainly not to be found in the "anti-humanistic, anti-libertarian and anti-democratic"[77] Communist armies.

Success for the award winner, said General Li, had not arrived suddenly, but it was the result of a process in which the spirit of the Armed Forces' New Literature and Art Movement, with San Min Chu I as its foundation stone, and the twelve guidelines regarding content recommended by the President; the President's concern; the encouragement of established artists, and support from compatriots at home and abroad, had all played a vital part.

In this total war against Communism it was imperative that psychological battle strength be augmented still further, and this could only be brought about by the creative artist in the armed forces continuing to receive support and encouragement from established writers and artists.

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77 ibid., p. 356.

As the presentation of the first Armed Forces Golden Statue Awards had taken place during Chiang Kai-shek's birthday celebrations, it was natural that all the recipients should send a congratulatory message to the President. In a ca. 700 character long document, they listed their achievements which they now offered as a birthday gift to the President and they promised to strive to combine the power of the sword with the power of the arts. They understood, the message ran, the role of the arts in the present fight against Communism, defeatism and decadence, and they consequently vowed to be guided in their creative work by the twelve points put forward by the President during the Armed Forces' Conference in April. They expressed the firm belief that the next presentation of awards would see an even greater abundance of talent and an even greater maturity in the works presented for evaluation.[78]

So far the various functions had taken place under the auspices of the Ministry of Defense. On the last day of the three-day celebrations however the Kuomintang gave a banquet in honour of the award winners and the main speaker was the Head of the Kuomintang Central Committee's Fourth Department, Hsieh Jan-chih(Milton Shieh) who summed up all that had been said by other speakers in four points which he expected literary and art workers in the armed forces to bear in mind. Their work, he said, should encourage the fighting spirit; they should exhibit the bright side of society; they should put an end to all products of pessimism and defeatism, and they should

78 ibid., pp 356-357.

welcome the new age and be receptive to new world trends of artistic thought, opening up the road for new and progressive creative work. He, like all the speakers who had preceded him, asserted that the arts were the best psychological weapon for the gaining of victory over the enemy. He added, however, that he did not see the arts merely as a weapon, but as a means whereby one could influence and guide society at large. He also made an interesting departure from his fellow-speakers in that he suggested the creative artist should look beyond national boundaries and accept new thought on the arts current in other parts of the world.[79]

The three-day event was brought to a close on the evening of November 1, 1965, following which the award-winning writers, artists, dramatists and musicians etc. returned to their respective military camps and naval stations to further celebrations by fellow-officers and men and further exhorations by commanding officers to work hard at their craft.[80]

Comment

The 1965 conference on literature and art and the award-giving ceremony of the same year were to set the pattern for future similar occasions. What stands out very clearly from all that was said at both the conference and the award-giving ceremony was that from the authorities' point of view there was never any question of art being regarded for its own sake. Writers might argue

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79 ibid. p. 358.

80 ibid. p. 359.

among themselves over whether literature and the arts should have any didactic element within them or not, but so far as the Political Department of the Ministry of Defense and the chiefs-of-staff were concerned, art had only one function, and that was to be the vehicle for the dissemination of San Min Chu I ideology. It was expected to serve as the instrument whereby anti-Communist sentiment could be heightened, and to be the morale booster that would ensure victory and a return to the mainland. In short, literature and the arts were just means to an end, not an end in themselves.

It is, of course, pertinent to ask whether the literature and art movements among members of the armed forces, and the "new" literature and art movement in particular, were instrumental in throwing up fresh talent, and whether the talent thus discovered was of such a caliber as to justify the time and energy spent on promoting the arts among military personnel. As far as the first part of the question is concerned, a glance at the list of award-winners[81] reveals names that are seldom heard of again; in other words, the awards did not necessarily start these men on a career which led to recognition in the literary arena. The second part of the question however, must be answered in this manner: Among the hundreds of writers with passable talent that emerged via the armed forces there are at least fifty whose works appear in anthologies and collections

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81 ibid. p. 343.

representative of the best writing in Taiwan. Of these men the Anthology of Contemporary Chinese Literature. Taiwan: 1949 - 1974 says,

> Another important group among the talented new writers began as members of the armed forces. They include some of the most ardent as well as productive writers, a phenomenon which is unprecedented in the history of Chinese literature. Never before have "military men" as a group been so highly artistic; never have they taken to literary writing with such earnestness. Usually, they were students who had left high schools or colleges to enlist during or after the Sino-Japanese War. Considering themselves custodians of the traditional Chinese virtues of honour and loyalty, these people manifest in their writing a nostalgia for days gone by and their own dedication to preserve the qualities the race has always treasured. [82]

This latter remark applies particularly to such fiction writers as Chu Hsi-ning 朱西寧,[83] Ssu-ma Chung-yüan and Tuan Ts'ai-hua 段彩華,[84] but it would hardly apply to poets like Lo Fu, Lo Men or Ya Hsien whose

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82 ACCL, Vol 2, Introduction to the Short Stories pp. 4-5

83 Chu Hsi-ning was born in Linchü, Shantung, in 1927. He studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Hangchow, but enlisted before graduating. He started writing before coming to Taiwan and his first short story was published in Nanking in 1946. He continued to write when he came to Taiwan with the army in 1949. Chu has nine collections of short stories to his credit and several novels. Among his works of fiction are P'o hsiao shih-fen 破曉時分 (Daybreak), and Lang 狼 (The Wolf).

84 Tuan Ts'ai-hua was born in the province of Kiangsu in 1933. He started writing while in the army, and his name is often linked with Chu Hsi-ning and Ssu-ma Chung-yüan. He first made an impact because of his fascination with symbolism. His more recent work has been described as "technically precise" but "limited" in range of themes and modes of presentation. (ACCL. Vol.2,p.233). He has five collections of short stories and a novel Mu hou 幕後 (Behind the Scenes). In 1964 he won the All-China Young People's Literature Award.

Western-orientated surrealist or abstract expressionist poetry caused such controversy in the late fifties and early sixties.

CHAPTER NINE

The Cultural Renaissance Movement

> "... a genuine cultural renaissance is not brought into being by government fiat. It is a spontaneous phenomenon that can profit from official encouragement but is mainly attributable to an explosion of enthusiasm and spirit among intellectuals and artists themselves, whose collective efforts somehow produce a supercharged atmosphere conducive to ever finer creative realizations."[1]

The observation has been made in this thesis that external as much as internal events prompted the various literary and artistic movements that took place in Taiwan, and the Cultural Renaissance Movement (Chung-hua wen-hua fu-hsing yün-tung 中華文化復興運動) initiated by Chiang Kai-shek on November 12, 1966, was no exception.

In order to understand the factors which led to the inauguration of the Cultural Renaissance Movement, it is necessary to look briefly into those events on the mainland of China which have been described as the Cultural Revolution (wen-hua ko-ming 文化革命).

The Cultural Revolution

All intelligence from the mainland from 1958 onward had suggested that there was increased tension and

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[1] Uhalley, Stephen, "Taiwan's Response to the Cultural Revolution," in Asian Survey, Vol. VII, No.2, (Institute of International Studies, University of California, November, 1967), pp. 825-826.

division among the top leaders in China over the future direction the country ought to take. The unsatisfactory results of the Great Leap Forward[2], failures in the commune system[3], and the split with the Soviet Union[4] had divided the leadership to such a degree that a power struggle between Mao Tse-tung and the more pragmatic of the senior party members soon ensued. So far did their views diverge that Mao felt not only that his authority was being challenged, but that his revolutionary ideals were being sabotaged. What the country needed, felt Mao, was a thorough shake up so that the power structure could be changed and people's thought and behavioural patterns transformed in the process. The transformation was to be achieved through the revitalization of the nation's youth, the politicization of the masses, and the eradication of old thinking, old customs, old habits and old culture - the Four Olds (szu chiu 四舊)[5].

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2 The Great Leap Forward was a movement announced by the National People's Congress in February, 1958, and which called for such an increase in production of coal, steel and electricity that the country would surpass the British industrial capacity in a matter of fifteen years. See Hsü, op.cit.,p.786 ff.

3 The forming of the People's Communes was a step towards "social transformation". By 1958 there were 26,000 communes, both rural and urban. The rural ones incorporated 98% of the farm population. ibid.

4 For the causes of the Sino-Soviet split,see ibid., pp. 805-825.

5 ibid., p. 839.

The initial stage of the Cultural Revolution appears to have been a paper war with criticism and counter-criticism conducted via the columns of various journals and daily papers.[6] The second phase, however, involved the army, which was brought into the conflict to crush Mao's opponents. The third phase is the one that was given the greatest publicity abroad and consisted of the mobilization of young people on a scale never before witnessed.

The Red Guard (Hung wei-ping 紅衛兵), a name borrowed from the Russians and used for the first time in China in 1927,[7] was revived by Mao as a name for the thousands of young people recruited from the middle schools and universities[8] to implement his social transformation, the beginning of which was given his blessing at a mass rally in Peking on August 18, 1966.

What started off as youthful enthusiasm soon changed to wanton destructiveness as the youth of China rampaged through cities renaming streets, smashing any sign that evoked an old society, burning old books, ransacking property, and attacking those whose dress and hairstyles differed from their own. They harassed nuns, humiliated

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6 The names of the papers and journals involved in this stage of the Cultural Revolution are to be found in Hsü, op.cit., pp. 840-841.

7 ibid., p. 845.

8 See Asia Research Centre, ed. The Great Cultural Revolution in China, (Melbourne, Paul Flesch,1968), p. 440.

foreign diplomats, desecrated temples and churches, and broke open old tombs. Nothing was sacred; nothing escaped their notice. So intent were they on eradicating the "four olds" that they swept up and down the country like a scourge.[9] They meted out beatings indiscriminately; held kangaroo courts, and operated private detention camps.[10]

There came of course a point when the invasion of Red Guards into factories and workshops, which slowed down production and caused chaos, could no longer be tolerated, and Mao had to instruct the military to intervene and restore order. Eventually, at the end of 1968, their influence was reduced by the central authorities, and the Cultural Revolution gradually subsided.

The Reaction in Taiwan

The attacks over the years on traditional Chinese culture culminating in the wave of destruction and wanton despoilation of national monuments by the Red Guards in 1966, as Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communists sought to build a "new" China, made Chiang Kai-shek and his government in Taiwan feel that Chinese culture and the Chinese tradition were doomed unless they did something to ensure their survival. In Taiwan itself all was not well, for even here

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9 See Esmein, Jean, The Chinese Cultural Revolution translated by W.J.F. Jenner, (Andre Deutsch, 1975), p.97.

10 See Hsü, op.cit., p. 856.

traditional Chinese culture was being undermined, through popular indifference[11], and, as we have seen, by a fascination on the part of intellectuals, writers and artists with currents of thought and artistic trends in the West.

It seemed, therefore, that the time was ripe for a movement to be launched which would draw the attention of every citizen in Taiwan to the possible loss of Chinese culture and to the need to take steps to prevent this from happening. But what was obviously needed was not merely the shoring up of a vestigial tradition, but its revitalization. It had to become the essential spirit of the Chinese people of the twentieth century.

On November 12, 1966, the 101st anniversay of Sun Yat-sen's birth, at the dedication ceremony of the newly completed Chinese Cultural Hall of the Chungshan Building in suburban Taipei, Chiang Kai-shek, therefore, inaugurated the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement.

Speaking to an audience of 1,500 scholars and high-ranking government officials, Chiang Kai-shek spoke of the Chinese tradition as it had been handed down through the ages and of how it from time to time had been "injured"[12] by "heterodox doctrines and deceivers of the

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11 See Tozer, op.cit., p.81.

12 "Chung-hua wen-hua fu-hsing yün-tung" in Ti szu ts'u Chung-hua min-kuo chiao-yü nien-chien 第四次中華民國教育年鑑 (The Fourth Educational Yearbook of the Republic of China, 12th edit.), p.893. Hereafter cited as CYNC.

people".[13] Even at that moment, he said, it was, as never before, being subjected to such treatment by the Communists on the mainland as could only bring about its total destruction. There was, however, one avenue open, one saviour who could assure its survival, and that was Sun Yat-sen and his doctrine of San Min Chu I. Sun Yat-sen, said Chiang, stood in direct line of succession to the Sages of the past, and his San Min Chu I incorporated all the elements that went to make up Chinese culture. San Min Chu I, and the National Revolution which formed part of the platform of San Min Chu I, therefore, would ensure the continuation and renewal of China's culture,and would eventually rid the mainland of the Communist regime. Chiang reminded his audience that the tasks left to them by the Founding Father were still to be accomplished; they had therefore to rededicate themselves to attaining the goals he had set. It was also up to them, Chiang said, to make good the calamities brought about by Communism and to rekindle faith on the mainland. The wealth and happiness of an ethical, scientific and democratic San Min Chu I had to be bestowed equally on every fellow country-man on the mainland as it was now being bestowed on all in Taiwan. By renewing Chinese culture, Chiang ended,the Chinese in Taiwan were fulfilling their part of the contract willed to them by the Founding Father and by their ancestors.

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13 ibid.

After the dedication ceremony all participants were invited by Chiang to a luncheon in The Chungshan Building. The climax of the celebrations came during the course of the meal when the 78 year old Wang Yün-wu 王雲五[14], former Vice President of the Executive Yüan, presented a petition to Chiang Kai-shek calling on him to have Sun Yat-sen's birthday designated Chinese Cultural Renaissance Day. Although signed by all present, the petition originated with Sun K'o 孫科, Sun Yat-sen's son and President of the Examination Yüan; K'ung Te-ch'eng 孔德成, the 77th lineal descendant of Confucius; Chang Chih-pen 張知本, and Ch'en Ta-ch'i 陳大齊, senior advisors to the President; Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church, Cardinal Paul Yü Pin 于斌, and Wang Yün-wu.

Much of the contents of the document was a reiteration of what Chiang Kai-shek had said earlier in his speech. It concluded, however, by saying that the only hope for the preservation of China's cultural tradition lay in a cultural renaissance led by the President himself. The petition was naturally accepted by Chiang, and thus the Cultural Renaissance Movement was launched.

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14 Wang Yün-wu, 1888-1979, was chief editor and manager of the Commercial Press from 1930 to 1945. He served as a Minister of Economic Affairs from 1946 to 1947; Minister of Finance, 1948; Vice-President of the Examination Yüan from 1954 to 1956; Vice-President of the Executive Yüan from 1960 to 1963. Wang Yün-wu is also known for the development of the "four corner numeral system" for the classification and identification of Chinese characters.

According to official sources, the response was both immediate and overwhelming.[15]

In as much as it was hoped that the Renaissance Movement would capture the imagination of overseas Chinese as well, articles on the movement appeared in papers abroad. On November 17, 1966, for example, the Hsiang-kang shih-pao 香港時報 (The Hong Kong Times) carried an article by Archbisop Paul Yü Pin in which he stressed the need to "declare a cultural war"[16] against the Communists since they seemed to have no respect for the life of the spirit. He pointed out that China's cultural heritage was guaranteed by the application of San Min Chu I, and he called on all men of culture to rally behind the Cultural Renaissance Movement since not only was the movement a means whereby the cultural heritage could be preserved, but it was also "the starting-point for the fast race forward for education, the arts, economics, science, politics, morality and religion."[17]

His part in the petition that launched the Movement has already been stated, but articles such as the one from which I have quoted show that the Archbisop wanted

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15 See China Yearbook, 1966-67, p.9; Free China Review (January, 1967), p.78. Chung-yang jih pao November, 13, 1966, Chung-hua jih-pao, November 13, 1966, and Hsin sheng pao 新生報, November 13,1966.

16 Yü Pin,"Chung Kung ts'ui-ts'an wen-hua. Wo-men pao-wei wen-hua" 中共摧殘文化.我們保衛文化 (The Chinese Communists Are Destroying Culture. We Are Defending It), in Chung-hua wen-hua fu-hsing yün-tung, (Taipei, Yu shih wen-hua shih-yeh kung-szu 幼獅文化事業公司)p.88. Hereafter cited as FHYT.

17 ibid., p.90.

it generally known where he and his church stood with regard to the Movement. In as much as the Roman Catholic Church "has been out-standing in its support of the policies represented by the National government"[18], it is not surprising that the Archbishop adopted the stance described. As for support from overseas Chinese communities, the China Yearbook 1967 - 68 lets it be known that fifty-four overseas organizations rallied behind the Movement.[19]

The Response of Writers Associations to the Cultural Renaissance Movement.

The first of the writers' associations to respond to the Movement was The Chinese Youth Writers' Association. On the evening of November 16 the Association convened a meeting at Shih Fan University in Taipei and issued a declaration which began by recalling the lives of those who had made Chinese culture unique among world cultures. It then called on "all Chinese youth of courage and conscience"[20] to defend the culture which was in the process of being destroyed by those on the mainland who did not recognize its value. The declaration finally pledged the support of all members of the Association and concluded by saying, "... let us

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18 Pro Mundi Vita, Dossier: Taiwan, Asia - Australasia Dossier 6, (Brussels, March-April, 1978), p.3.

19 China Yearbook, 1967-68, p.377.

20 "Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien hsieh-tso hsieh-hui wei hsiang-ying Chung-hua wen-hua fu-hsing yün-tung sheng-ming"中國青年寫作協會為響應中華文化復興運動聲明 The Chinese Youth Writers' Association's Response to the Cultural Renaissance Movement), reprinted in FHYT, p.590.

beat the drum of creativity even louder. Let us be the spearhead of the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement."[21]

Six days later writers and artists in the armed forces, who had just held their second conference on literature and the arts, also issued a statement, indicating their response.

The preamble to their statement repeated what had already been said at the Movement's inauguration ceremony concerning Sun Yat-sen and San Min Chu I as the guardians of China's cultural heritage. The statement then went on to assert that the twelve guiding principles for literature and the arts put before the first Armed Forces' New Literature and Art Conference by Chiang Kai-shek the year before could well serve as guidelines for the Cultural Renaissance Movement as a whole. It then focused on the Renaissance in Europe as a way of defining what was meant by "renaissance". The renaissance in Europe, the statement read, was both a "rebirth" (tsai sheng 再生)[22] and a "new birth" (hsin sheng 新生)[23]. It was a "rebirth" in the sense that it revived and developed the arts, philosophy and literature under the influence of classical models, but it was a "new birth" in that, under the influence of rationalism and humanism, there was a reformation of religion, economics and politics, from which came the

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21 ibid.

22 "Kuo-chün hsiang-ying Chung-hua wen-hua fu-hsing yün-tung hsüan-yen" 國軍響應中華文化復興運動宣言 (The Armed Forces' Response to the Cultural Renaissance Movement) ibid., p.581.

23 ibid.

beginnings of a modern culture. It was that kind of renaissance which now was envisaged for China.

The statement ended by calling on all, soldier and civilian alike, to work as one body for the enhancement and dissemination of Chinese culture so that it ultimately might replace Communism and become the instrument for world peace.

The men in the armed forces were to follow up the issuance of this statement with the formation of cultural service units that would visit middle schools and colleges all over the island in order to stimulate a response to the Renaissance Movement. It was estimated that these units visited some 528 schools and colleges and conducted nearly 400 rallies and other cultural activities.[24]

In the meantime, members of the China Association of Literature and Art had gathered together in order to condemn the Cultural Revolution on the mainland; to pledge their support for the Renaissance Movement, and to discuss how it could be implemented.[25]

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24 Hsiao T'ao-ying, "Kuo-chün t'ui-hsing wen-hua fu-hsing yün-tung kung-tso ch'eng-kuo" 國軍推行文化復興運動工作成果 (The Achievements of the Armed Forces' Cultural Renaissance Promotional Work), in Chung-hua wen-hua fu-hsing lun-ts'ung 中華文化復興論叢 (Collected Essays on the Chinese Cultural Renaissance), (Taipei, Chung-huawen-hua fu-hsing yün-tung t'ui-hsing wei-yüan-hui 中華文化復興運動推行委員會 1969), p. 951. Hereafter cited as FHLT.

25 See Free China Review, (February, 1967), p.78, and China Yearbook, 1966-67, p.9.

The Renaissance Movement and the Kuomintang

Having been launched in the manner described above, the Renaissance Movement now required a frame of reference rules, and well-defined objectives if it was not to lose its momentum. These were supplied by The Principles for the Promotion of the Cultural Renaissance Movement put before and adopted by the Fourth Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Kuomintang on December 28, 1966.

The Principles were divided into four sections. A. Basic Ideals, B. Fields of Activity, C. Cultural Combat and D. Organization and Finance. The Basic Ideals were a re-statement of Chiang's thoughts regarding San Min Chu I as the repository of Chinese culture and the Renaissance as the means of "total renewal of such outstanding traditional virtues as extensive benevolence and intensive justice".[26] The Fields of Activity consisted of a 10-point work programme dealing with education and the revision and improvement of textbooks; the re-issuing of the Chinese Classics and works by famous authors as well as encouragement for the production of new books and translations" in order to publicize Chinese culture and build a bridge between Chinese and Western cultures."[27] In this connection, "successful"[28]

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26 Shieh, Milton, op.cit., p.309.

27 ibid., p.310.

28 ibid.

publications, publishers and publishing institutions would be assisted with awards and promotional facilities. Point 3 of the work programme concerned writers and artists and stated that "a new literary and arts movement based on ethics, democracy and science shall be encouraged so as to prompt the cultivation of worthwhile authors as well as of literary and art works indicative of the times and the ideals of national cultural renaissance."[29] Point 4 also concerned the artist, or, more specifically the performing artist, for it called on government at all levels to be responsible for the planning and construction of stadiums, theatres, opera houses, auditoriums, concert halls and art galleries in all localities, or for the expansion and improvement of existing facilities. Other points covered tourism and assistance to cultural ventures among overseas Chinese as well as to foreign institutions engaged in research on Chinese culture. Point 6 concerned the reactivation of the New Life Movement [30] in order that life could be "modernized and rationalized ... under

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29 ibid.

30 The New Life Movement was a movement put into operation by the government in 1934. It stressed the four traditional virtues of propriety, rectitude, integrity and sense of shame. It also laid emphasis on promptness, honesty, courtesy and hygiene. The Movement was meant to revitalize the moral fibre of the people and promote a spiritual awakening. The Movement met with widespread popular response to begin with, but by the second year enthusiasm had waned. However, the military instruction given in schools and the military training for the physically fit, did act as a morale booster in the face of Japanese aggression. See Hsü, op.cit., p.684 and Tozer, op.cit., pp.93-94.

the influence of traditional culture steeped in the Four Social Fundamentals and Eight Virtues."[31] Finally, the 10-point work programme called for new legislation that would make all donations to cultural and education establishments by private industries and businesses and wealthy individuals exempt from income and inheritance tax, thereby encouraging contributions to the Renaissance Movement.

The third section of the Principles dealt with Cultural combat and the manner in which San Min Chu I and the Cultural Renaissance should be used to counteract Communism and the Cultural Revolution on the mainland, and how it should be employed to arouse anti-Communist feelings and a patriotic spirit at home and abroad.

The final section of the Principles for the Promotion of the Cultural Renaissance Movement concerning Organization and Finance, proposed that promotional organizations should be established in order to discharge the function of planning and implementation. It also proposed that promotional expenditures should be covered by the central government when the relevant project was national in nature, but by the local government when local in nature.

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31 Shieh, Milton, op.cit., p.310. The Four Social Fundamentals are the four virtues mentioned above. The Eight Virtues are: Loyalty, filial piety, benevolence, love, faithfulness, justice, harmony, and peace.

The Press and The Cultural Renaissance Movement

While the Kuomintang was providing guidelines for the Cultural Renaissance Movement, the press not only took up the problem of trying to define what was meant by "renaissance", but it also issued a call to writers and artists to create for their time, their country and their people and not to allow themselves to be persuaded to lower their standards by publishers and film-makers who thought only in terms of popular appeal.[32]

The Formation of the Council for the Promotion of Chinese Cultural Renaissance

In order "to push the Cultural Renaissance Movement from the stage of publicity to the stage of action"[33] a meeting was convened by Hsieh Jan-chih (Milton Shieh), the Deputy Secretary General of the Kuomintang, on July 28, 1967, in the Chungshan Building. Present were 1,100 scholars and representatives of cultural circles in Taiwan and from abroad who, according to official sources,[34] took the initiative in forming the Council for the Promotion of Chinese Cultural Renaissance, and in inviting Chiang Kai-shek to head the Council, with Sun K'o, Wang Yün-wu and Ch'en Li-fu as vice-chairmen, and in drawing up a constitution for the Council.

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32 See Free China Review, (February,1967), p.70.

33 China Yearbook, 1967-68, p.5.

34 See Tozer, op.cit., p.84, footnote 21, and CYNC,p.985.

The constitution of the Council made its purpose quite clear. It was to facilitate the Cultural Renaissance and develop cultural reconstruction based on San Min Chu I. Its function, outlined in five points, was to study, create and promote cultural reconstruction based on ethics, democracy and science; to encourage cultural and educational institutions "to display good traditions of Chinese culture in thinking and learning"[35];to promote national virtues; to implement a code of conduct;[36] and to expand the anti-Mao and national salvation front in order "to eradicate the source"[37] of the destructive cultural revolution on the mainland.

Having defined the purpose and function of the Council, the constitution went on to describe the lines along which the Council would be organized. For example, the constitution stated that the office of head of the Council should be filled by the President "upon the request of the conference of the Council's sponsors."[38] It also laid down that the Council itself should consist of some 55-99 members, chosen and appointed by the President from those working in cultural, educational and social fields, and that a standing committee of some

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35 Free China Review, (February,1968), p. 79.

36 A Code of Youth Conduct, (Ching-nien hsing-wei 青年行為), dealing with deportment, behaviour, dress and personal habits, was in fact put into operation by the Council in conjunction with the Ministry of Education, the China Youth Corps and the Kuomintang Committee for Young Intellectuals. See Free China Review, (March, 1968), p.73 CYNC, p. 986, and Tozer, op.cit., p.86.

37 Free China Review, (February, 1968), p.79.

38 ibid.

15 - 19 members should be formed, the members being selected by the President. Appointments to the Council and Standing Committee were to be made by the President every two years.

The constitution laid down that the Council was to meet annually to discuss policy matters, while the Standing Committee was to meet every three months. Provisions were also made for extraordinary meetings to be held as required. Local committees and assemblies were to be set up in various regions, in schools, and in overseas Chinese communities in order "to meet practical needs"[39]. The funds for this purpose were to come from government appropriations; funds raised publicly, or from donations by institutions and private individuals. Branch organs were to be established in major localities under the jurisdiction of the Executive Yüan; and promotional committees in schools were to come under the supervision of the Ministry of Education in conjunction with the China Youth Corps. The duties of branch committees were to include the formulation of work projects, which, however, had to be approved by the Council before being implemented. The branch committees were to be funded in the same way as the Council.

The overarching principles governing both Council

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39 ibid., p.80.

and branch organs were the same as those formulated by the Kuomintang at its Fourth Plenary Session in December the year before. However, the Council brought out its own Plan for the Promotion of the Chinese Cultural Renaissance. This was an expanded version of the Principles adopted by the Kuomintang and was more specific in defining objectives. Where, for example, the Principles had broadly laid down that a new literary and art movement based on ethics, democracy and science was to be encouraged and that there should be a cultivation of worthwhile authors as well as art works indicative of the times and the ideals of national cultural renaissance,[40] the Plan spelled out in some detail what was really envisaged. The Plan proposed that encouragement should be given to the writing of simple, popular novels based on the lives of historical figures and revolutionary martyrs that would appeal to people with an elementary or secondary education. It also proposed that literary creations with a background of national revolution and anti-Communist national reconstruction should be promoted. The two clauses (Fields of Activities 3.2 and 3.3) end with the following words, "It behooves various literary and art groups to induce their members to participate in this undertaking, and educational foundations should help finance the resultant

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40 Point 3 of Fields of Activity.

publications."[41]

The Bureau of Cultural Affairs

The ministry charged with being the principal agent for implementing the Plan was the Ministry of Education. although the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Finance were also involved, though to a lesser extent. In order to co-ordinate its cultural activities, the Ministry of Education created on November 10, 1967, a Bureau of Cultural Affairs (wen-hua chü 文化局) with the former chairman of the Department of Journalism, National Chengchih University, Wang Hung-chün 王洪鈞 , as its director. Despite some problems during its preparatory period, which will be discussed later, the Bureau opened on time with Vice-president Yen Chia-kan attending the inaugural ceremony. The establishment of the Bureau of Cultural Affairs was hailed as an important event in the history of the Republic.[42]

In order to function more effectively, the Bureau was sub-divided into four departments and a secretarial office, with each department havings its own specific responsibilities. Department One, for example, was responsible for collecting together and revising cultural material; for editing and translating cultural books and publications and for assisting local government with cultural activities. Department Two, on the other hand,

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41 Free China Review,(March, 1968), p.74.

42 See CYNC, p. 989.

was to operate as an advisory counsel tc literary and art associations as well as to individual writers and artists, and to encourage artistic endeavour both at home and abroad. The remaining two departments had broad powers over broadcasting, television and films.

Basically, the main function of the Bureau of Cultural Affairs was to "assist and guide". However, it would also act in the capacity of censor when the situation called for it, as, for example, when films or imported magazines of a questionable nature were to be released on the market.[43]

It fell to the lot of the Bureau also to set in motion series of talks and seminars for young people during which China's achievements through the ages were to be highlighted in an attempt to convince Westernized youth that they had a heritage of which they could be proud.[44] Other attempts at fostering a greater understanding of the Chinese tradition, while simultaneously

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43 See Tozer, op.cit., p.87 footnote 36.

44 One of the set lectures in a series entitled, "Chung-hua wen-hua chih t'e-chih" 中華文化之特質 (The Special Characteristics of Chinese Culture) was, for example, Ku Yü-hsiu's, "Chung-kuo ti wen-i fu-hsing" 中國的文藝復興 (The Renaissance of Chinese Literature and Art) in which he starts by holding aloft the inventions made in China over the centuries as listed in Joseph Needham's Science and Civilization in China and ends by urging the young to rediscover the beauty of classical poetry and themselves become new Po Chü-i s, 白居易 (772-846), Li Po s 李白 (701-762) and Tu Fus. See FHYK,11, Vol.2,No. 2, pp. 2-4, and CYNC, p. 991.

"nurturing the creative spirit, creative ideas and the talent for writing"[45] of students in schools and colleges, were to be made by the Bureau via the essay-writing competitions they came to sponsor.

To its long list of duties were later added the resuscitation of those Peking operas that stressed the traditional virtues and the principles of human relationships fostered by Confucianism. This sometimes meant rewriting the scripts, updating the music, and excising anything slightly bawdy.[46]

The Kuomintang and Its Policy towards the Arts

We have seen at various times throughout this thesis that there have been writers who have argued for the formulation of a literary policy by the government that would have tangible results in the shape of grants and subsidies to writers and in the creation of outlets for their work via the government publishing houses and agencies. We have noted how other writers have wanted to go even further by having the government lay down guidelines and directives which would be binding on all writers. But we have also seen how this has been strenuously resisted by those who feared that such support and guidance might lead to rigid government control and to the consequent stifling of the creative spirit.

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45 CYNC, p. 995.

46 See Tozer, op.cit., p. 87.

The call for a literary policy pre-dated the government's move to Taiwan, as we saw in the early part of this thesis. We also saw, however, that prior to 1950, "owing to insurrection within and frequent trouble without, neither the government nor the ruling party were able to pay as much attention as they ought to literary and art work."[47] It was only after the government was moved to Taiwan, says the Chung-hua min-kuo wen-i shih, that the ruling party "came to the realization that literary and art work could not be treated with indifference."[48] The consequence of this realization was that, in 1950, literature and the arts found a place in the Kuomintang programme. This, however, still amounted to little more than an acknowledgement of literature and the arts as a means of rallying the people together and as a technique for promoting mutual understanding in society.

The Two Supplementary Chapters by Chiang Kai-shek, published in 1953 and taken to be "a literary policy for a Min Sheng Society,"[50] seems to have stirred the Kuomintang into action, for not long after the publication of Chiang's work, the Central Committee of the Kuomintang established the Central Suppliers of Cultural Products which, though mainly an outlet for ideological work and anti-Communist writing, nevertheless, from 1954 onwards, published collections of short stories, novels and collections of critical essays on literature.

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47 WIS, p. 977.

48 ibid.

49 Shieh, Milton, op.cit., p.233.

50 WIS, p. 977.

1955 saw the initiation of the Fighting Literature Movement and its endorsement, first, by the Kuomintang Central Committee, and, shortly afterwards, by the plenary session. The Kuomintang's contribution consisted of the formation of a Fighting Literature Advisory Counsel which called together the editors of literary journals and newspaper supplements and members of the writers' associations in order to discuss how best to develop Fighting Literature. The Advisory Counsel also lent some assistance to the publication and exhibition of Fighting Literature, in addition to which it booked theatres for the performance of "fighting spirited" plays. This involvement in the Fighting Literature Movement was seen by Wen-i shih, it will be remembered, as marking the beginning of a literary policy on the part of the Kuomintang.

In November, 1964, the Central Committee of the Kuomintang held a Conference for those working with the news media and information services. A motion passed during the conference concerning greater co-operation between writers and the disseminators of news and information had as its objective "the expansion of the combative function of literature and the arts and the promotion of the great work against Communism."[52]

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51 ibid., p. 978.

52 ibid.

It is difficult to gauge the practical value of the motion passed; however, it must be seen as marking yet another step in the direction of increased involvement by the Kuomintang in the arts and arts-related fields.

The Twelve Guiding Principles laid before the Armed Forces' New Literature and Art Conference in April, 1965, by Chiang Kai-shek, and the manifesto subsequently drawn up by the delegates seemed to act as yet another propellent towards the issuance of a more comprehensive policy statement on literature and art by the Kuomintang.[53] The final push, so to speak, came from the Cultural Renaissance Movement.

As the whole of the "Current Policy for Literature and the Arts", passed at the Fifth Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Kuomintang, and reproduced in full in Chung-yang jih-pao on November 22, 1967, appears in an Appendix at the end of this thesis, I shall do no more than refer to some of those points that were to be of particular significance to the writer and artist. These are: long-term planning by the government with regard to the financing of literary and artistic development, (Item 13); an increase in the number of literature and art foundations, and the encouragement, through tax concessions, to private enterprise to make

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53 ibid.

donations to the arts, (Item 14); the establishment of a literature and arts centre with research facilities and the like, and assistance for promising writers and artists wishing to study abroad, (Item 17); the establishment of a welfare system for writers and artists; the raising of royalties and manuscript fees and an overhaul of the Copyright Act, (Item 19), and finally, encouragement for the translation of Chinese works into other languages and vice versa, (Item 30).[54]

Reactions among Writers and Artists

The comprehensive policy statement on literature and art made by the Kuomintang met with a mixed reception. The proposed practical assistance was welcomed by those who had misgivings about government involvement in literature and art, as long as it remained nothing more than this. Anything more, they believed, would parallel the kind of control found in Communist countries. Others, however, had fewer misgivings, and felt the policy could only have beneficial results.[55] To indicate their approval of the policy and to solicit support for artistic endeavour, a group of leading personalities in the world of literature and art[56] issued a statement

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54 See pp.456-460 of thesis.

55 See Wang Chi-ts'ung, "Kuan-yü wen-i cheng-ts'e ti chi-ko wen-t'i" 關於文藝政策的幾個問題 (Some Questions on the Policy for Literature and Art), in FHYK, 12, Vol.2, No.3, (March, 1969), p.36.

56 The group consisted, among others, of the following well-known writers, Chang Tao-fan, Su Hsüeh-lin, Hsieh Ping-ying, Chang Hsiu-ya, Lin Hai-yin, Yü Kuang-chung, Wang Lan, Yin Hsüeh-man, T'ien Yüan.

entitled, "Wo-men wei shen-mo yao t'i-ch'ang wen-i" 我們為什麼要提倡文藝 (Why We Wish to Promote Literature and Art). The statement, published in the Chung-yang jih-pao on December 8 and 9, 1967, addressed itself to those working with the news media, in publishing, education, science, philosophy, religion, politics, military affairs, foreign relations and finance. It set out to "sell" literature and art by specifying how they could be utilized to enhance the products of publishing, education, science etc., and by drawing attention to their restorative capacity or therapeutic value for those working in tedious or demanding professions. Since literature and art were capable of making such enormous contributions to society, society ought in return to respond by recognizing and patronizing the artist and writer and by engaging his services and using his talents for the mutual benefit of both. The writers of this statement clinched their argument by referring to Item 40 of the Kuomintang policy statement which called on those in the political, military and economic fields to support literature and the arts.

That this declaration had to resort to the argument of the "utility value" of literature and art and to stress that financial gains were to be had through their employment, suggests that it was directed at those who had little time for the arts and who would prefer to see all money available spent on modernization and technological advance in Taiwan.

The Literature and Art Research and Promotion Committee

Shortly after the Kuomintang had made its policy statement on the arts, the Council for the Promotion of Chinese Cultural Renaissance established a number of small professional committees and assigned them specific tasks. Among these was the Literature and Art Research and Promotion Committee (Wen-i yen-chiu ts'u-chin wei-yüan-hui 文藝研究促進委員會) which was made responsible for matters relating to research on and the promotion of literature and the arts. The committee consisted of a mixture of members of government agencies and leading figures from literature and art associations, some fifty persons in all.[57] Yin Hsüeh-man was nominated executive secretary. One of his first tasks in this capacity was to chair a seminar dealing with the subject, "Literature and the Cultural Renaissance". Attending the seminar held on April 18, 1968, were seventeen writers, all of them now familiar to us, and including Chu Hsi-ning, Lin Shih-ts'un, Wang Lan and Ssu-ma Chung-yüan. One of the views to emerge at this seminar was that the time had come for writers to pull together and not to create divisions by compartmentalizing writing into "old" and "new" or into this or that "school";

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57 See Free China Review, (March, 1968), p.76, and Yin Hsüeh-man, "Wei wen-i kung-tso chan-k'ai hsin mao" 為文藝工作展開新貌 (Creating a New Image for Literature and Art), in FHYK, Vol.1, (March 1968) p.19.

and further, that if there was to be "a search for the new", in creative writing, it was important, at the same time, not to forget one's roots.[58]

The seminar was followed just over a month later by a gathering of over four hundred literary workers in Taipei for three days of discussion on ways "to strengthen the cultural front in the struggle against Communism."[59] The conference was opened by the Vice-president who assured those present that the government would respect intellectual freedom. He was followed by Lin Yü-t'ang who, despite emphasizing the importance of "cultural interflow"[60] urged writers to base their work on the Chinese tradition. At the end of the three days six major resolutions had been passed. They were: that a literature and art activity centre be established; that a joint publishing house be set up; that an information centre on literature and the arts be opened; that literary masterpieces be translated into foreign languages; that an exhibition of literary work be held in Taipei in the autumn of 1969, and that a foundation with funds of U.S.$500,000 to help young writers be established.[61]

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58 See "Wen-hsüeh ho wen-hua fu-hsing tso-t'an-hui" 文學和文化復興座談會 (Seminar on Literature and the Cultural Renaissance), in FHYK,2, Vol.1, No.2, (April, 1968), pp. 42-44.

59 Free China Review, (July, 1968), p.62.

60 ibid.

61 ibid., p.4.

As the above resolutions were part of both the Plan for the Promotion of the Chinese Cultural Renaissance and the Kuomintang Current Policy for Literature and the Arts, they amounted to no more than an endorsement of what had already been decided the year before.

From 1968 on the various agencies referred to above expanded their activities in accordance with the Kuomintang policy on the arts or according to the rules laid down by the Council for the Promotion of the Chinese Cultural Renaissance. Some of these activities included lectures on culture for an estimated total audience of 50,000; the promotion of music and drama by bringing to Taiwan world-renowned musicians and conductors; participation in international book exhibitions; mobile exhibitions of ancient Chinese art objects; the establishment of a Literature and Art Activity Centre, and many more activities too numerous to mention, but which are listed with regularity in the China Yearbooks or Free China Review.[62] However, many of the proposals, by their very nature, were going to take time to implement, and consequently their outcome falls well outside the period reviewed here.

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62 See, for example, China Yearbook 1969-70, p.288, and China Yearbook 1970-71, p.292.

Comment

The official reports on the establishment of the various agencies described above give no indication of the difficulties encountered by those whose responsibilities it was to set things in motion. Everything appeared to work smoothly as if legislation alone would bring about immediate results. This, however, was not so, as can be seen in the case of the establishment of the Bureau of Cultural Affairs. It had been decided that the Bureau should consist of some 95 people. However, when some of the "specialists" in cultural affairs were asked if they would serve in the Bureau, they replied that they did not want to waste their time on administrative duties. Writers and artists who agreed to serve in the Bureau one day, changed their minds the next. As if problems with personnel were not enough, the Bureau's director, Wang Hung-chün, had to overcome difficulties in his search for suitable premises. The Communist-inspired riots in Hong Kong at the time had made many wary businessmen there look to Taiwan as a secure place for their capital. They were consequently buying up properties in Taipei and thereby forcing up prices and rents. Wang Hung-chün inspected over thirty properties before he was able to find something the Bureau could afford. Next, although it had been decided that the Bureau should have a setting-up grant of N.T.$55,800, the money was not forthcoming until the grant had been

approved by the Legislative Yüan. Despite all these setbacks, the Bureau of Cultural Affairs opened at the stipulated time, but this was largely due to the enormous efforts put into the preparatory work by Wang Hung-chün and his supporters.[63] Glimpses of such behind-the-scenes frustrations are few and far between, but the difficulties Wang Hung-chün had to surmount may well have been experienced by others involved in similar enterprises.

On the question of funding, it would appear that the government failed to live up to its promise to regard literature and the arts as being on an equal footing with science. At a seminar, attended by writers, educators and members of government on July 9, 1970,[64] Professor Chao Yu-p'ei of Shihfan University chided the government for allocating a mere four million Taiwan dollars to Department Two of the Bureau of Cultural Affairs whilst budgeting for over a billion for scientific enterprises. He could only put this down to the fact that results from cultural enterprises were less spectacular than those in the scientific field. The policy on literature and the arts, he said, was quite specific about how the government should support the arts. It was to be hoped that the government would

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63 See Wang Hung-chün, "Wen-hua-chü ti ti i nien" 文化局的第一年 in FHYK,8, Vol.1, No.8, (November, 1968), pp. 32-33.

64 The subject under discussion was, "Wen-i p'i-p'ing yü Chung-hua wen-hua fu-hsing" 文藝批評與中華文化復興 (Literary Criticism and the Chinese Cultural Renaissance). See FHYK,29, Vol.3, No.8, (August,1970), pp. 59-62.

implement the policy to its fullest extent.

Concerning literary output during the initial stages of the Cultural Renaissance Movement - and we must remember that the Movement has gone on beyond the period under review - some interesting facts have emerged. Those writers who have been described as Kuomintang writers because of their close association with the Party have expressed disappointment over the meagerness of creative writing. Chao Yu-p'ei, for example, said that there appeared to be more "research" on literature than on the "creation" of literature.[65] Ch'en Chi-ying at the Third Asian Writers' Conference held in Taipei in June 1970, owned up to the fact that novels reflecting the Cultural Renaissance, and by this he meant "healthy and beneficial"[66] works of fiction, were not easy to find. He put this down to the fact that such fiction needed "exceptional finesse in skill"[67] on the part of the writer. He expressed the hope, however, that a new era would dawn "in the not-too-distant future."[68]

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65 See FHYK, 29, Vol.3, No.8 (August, 1970), p.61.

66 Ch'en Chi-ying, "Twenty Years of Novel in Free China" in Thirty Years of Turmoil in Asian Literature, p. 42.

67 ibid.

68 ibid.

Another interesting point is that none of the Introductions to the anthologies published in Taiwan, whether in Chinese or in English, nor to the collections of short stories and poems made by scholars abroad in the seventies, make any mention of the Cultural Renaissance Movement when discussing the development of literature in Taiwan. This would suggest that for the great majority of writers the Renaissance Movement was something one merely talked about, or held conferences and seminars on, whilst privately working at one's craft in such a manner as to satisfy one's own artistic inclinations rather than the demands of the politicians.

Stephen Uhalley, writing in 1967, is therefore right when he suggests that the Cultural Renaissance Movement failed to engage the imagination of writers and artists on a large scale.[69] But both he, and, subsequently, W. Tozer, writing in 1970, are wrong when they describe Taiwan as a cultural "desert"[70], since there is clear evidence that the "desert" had begun to bloom several years earlier.

Looking back on this period in 1976, Joseph Lau asserts that the middle sixties was a fruitful period as far as fiction was concerned; and he speaks of 1967

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69 Uhalley, op.cit., pp. 827, 829.

70 ibid., p. 825, and Tozer, p. 97.

as being a particularly "exciting"[71] year. The reason for this, he says, was the publication of the works of such writers as Ch'en Ying-chen, Chang Hsi-kuo 張系國[72], Huang Ch'un-ming 黃春明[73], and Wang Chen-ho 王禎和.[74] C.T. Hsia, who originally had had little to say in favour of literature in Taiwan, now talks of the richness of Taiwan fiction

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71 Liu Shao-ming 劉紹銘, "Shih nien lai T'ai-wan hsiao shuo - i chiu liu wu - i chiu ch'i wu" 十年來台灣小說：一九六五——一九七五 (Taiwan Fiction over the Last Ten Years, 1965-1975), in Ming pao yüeh - k'an 明報月刊 (Mingpao Monthly), Vol.11, No. 1 (Hong Kong, January, 1976), p. 146.

72 Chang Hsi-kuo was born in Chungking in 1944, but came with his family to Taiwan when he was five. After graduating from National Taiwan University with a degree in electrical engineering, he went to the United States in 1966. He obtained his Ph.D. from University of California, Berkeley, in 1969,and is now Associate Professor of Information Engineering, University of Illinois. Chang Hsi-kuo is also a Research Fellow at the Institute of Mathematics, Academia Sinica, Taiwan. Chang's short story "Ti" 土地 (Earth) created quite a stir in Taiwan when it was published in 1967 since it dealt with the "shifting psychology of the Taiwanese and the mainlander" in relation to the land (Lau & Ross, op.cit., p.144). Other examples of his work can be found in the anthology, Ch'i-wang 棋王 (Champion Chessman), published in 1975.

73 Huang Ch'un-ming was born in 1937 in I-lan, a small town on the northeastern coast of Taiwan. He was far from being a model pupil whilst at school and was consequently transferred from one school to another. Huang is a restless person and never stays long in any one job. He has been teacher, reporter, T.V. scriptwriter, advertising agent and producer of documentary films. He has, however, established himself as one of the most vigorous short story writers in Taiwan. Huang writes about people in humble circumstances with compassion. There are three published collections of stories, Lo 鑼 (The Gong); 1974; So-yüeh-na-la, tsai-chien 莎喲哪拉，再見 (Sayonara, Goodbye), 1974, and Hsiao kua-fu 小寡婦 (The Young Widow), 1975.

in his Foreword to Joseph Lau's and Timothy Ross' Chinese Stories from Taiwan, 1960-1970. Angela Palandri in Modern Verse from Taiwan says of poetry that it is the most "flourishing and most promising"[75] of the various literary genres. She rounds off her remark by saying, "Those who considered Taiwan a "literary desert" must have mistaken the genuine luxuriance of its poetry for a mirage and refused to approach for closer scrutiny.[76]

Obviously, there has been "an explosion of enthusiasm and spirit" of some kind, but it seems not to have been occasioned by the Cultural Renaissance Movement, nor brought about by government fiat. Its more likely cause has been a natural maturation among writers combined with more congenial social circumstances and working conditions. If government and party are to be given any credit at all, it must rather be for the social and political stability they have been able to maintain over the past decades.

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74 Wang Chen-ho, a Taiwanese, born in 1940, studied at National Taiwan University. From 1972 to 1973 he attended the School for Writers, University of Iowa. He includes many local expressions in his writing and sometimes creates his own in order to achieve a comic effect. Wang's interest has recently shifted from fiction to drama. His short story, "Chia-chuang i niu-che" 嫁粧一牛車 (An Oxcart for Dowry), 1967, is to be found in Lau & Ross, op.cit., pp. 75-99.

75 Palandri, op.cit., p.18.

76 ibid.

CHAPTER TEN

The Case of Kuo I-tung, alias Po Yang

The Cultural Renaissance Movement was only a few months old when an event took place which reminded writers that the dividing line between acceptable and unacceptable criticism of the authorities was very fine indeed and that crossing that line could have disastrous consequences. The event concerned resulted from the translation and printing of an American cartoon series. What might have seemed from the observers' point of view to be a wholely innocuous activity turned out to be the crossing of that demarcation line for the novelist and essayist, Kuo I-tung 郭衣洞, also known as Po Yang 柏楊.

Kuo I-tung was responsible for the translation into Chinese of the Popeye cartoon by Bud Sagendorf, bought from the King's Features Syndicate in New York and reprinted in the Chung-hua jih pao 中華日報 (China Daily News) during May, 1967[1]. Popeye, a gruff and pugnacious character, has been giving pleasure to readers and television viewers in the United States for years.

Sly digs at certain social and individual attitudes expressed through the cartoon series

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1 Sun Kuan-han 孫觀漢, Po Yang ho ta-ti yüan-yü 柏楊和他的冤獄 (Po Yang and His Wrongful Detention) (Hong Kong, Wen-i shu-u 文藝書屋, 1974), pp.14-26, 40-41.

have largely brought amusement and laughter, and, to our knowledge, exception has never been taken to anything which has appeared in the cartoon strip. No one, therefore, could forsee that the rendering of seven particular Popeye cartoon strips into Chinese would bring its translator into disfavour with the President,Chiang Kai-shek, himself; to eventual branding as a Communist agent, and finally to a court martial and a sentence of eighteen years' imprisonment. No one had ever questioned Kuo I-tung's loyalty since he was considered to be in the vanguard of anti-Communist writers and had at one time enjoyed the patronage of Chiang Ching-kuo himself.[2] But since the prosecution in this case was to go through the whole of Kuo's personal history, trying to find Communist tendencies and looking for clues to a close liaison between himself and known Communists, it is important to record biographical details and review briefly some of his works in order to show that there is little evidence to support the charge that Kuo I-tung was a Communist. It seems much more likely that he was the victim of his own plain-speaking.

Kuo I-tung was born in Kaifeng, Honan, in 1920. Little

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2 Han Sung 寒松 "Yu i-ko cheng-chih fan-Po Yang Shih -chien" 又一個政治犯——柏楊事件 (Yet Another Political Crime - The Po Yang Affair), originally published in Tiao yü t'ai 釣魚台 (Fisherman's Wharf), No. 63, Chicago, August 25,1972. Reprinted in Sun, op.cit., p. 237.

is known of his early years except that he lost his mother whilst quite young. He was educated at Kaifeng Middle School and National North-eastern University. At the age of eighteen he joined the San Min Chu I ch'ing-nien-t'uan kan-hsün-pan 三民主義青年團幹訓班 The San Min Chu I Youth Corps Training Unit[3] and remained a member until 1946. Whilst at university he joined the anti-left-wing association, the Tsu-kuo hsüeh-she 祖國學社 (The Fatherland Student Society) and his activities earned him the displeasure of his pro-Communist professor, Lu Mao 陸懋, and led to his being expelled.[4]

After leaving National North-eastern University, he became director of the Tung-pei ch'ing-nien jih-pao 東北青年日報, (The North-eastern Young People's Daily). He also taught at the Shen-yang Liao-tung Academy in Shen-yang

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3 The San Min Chu I Youth Corps was established in 1938 by the Kuomintang as a new apparatus for recruiting and training party workers. See BDRC, Vol. 1, p. 439.

4 Po Yang, "Po Yang ti ta-pien-shu. Po Yang kei T'ai-wan sheng ching-pei szu-ling-pu chün-shih fa-t'ing ti ta-pien-shu, (chih i)." 柏楊的答辯書. 柏楊給台灣省警備司令部軍事法庭的答辯書(之一) (Po Yang's Refutations. Refutation (No.1), sent by Po Yang to the Military Court of the Taiwan Provincial Garrison Command), in Sun, op.cit., p. 78. These refutations will hereafter by cited as TPS Nos. 1,2, 3 etc. respectively. Sun had managed to obtain ten in all, but says the collection is not complete.

(Mukden under the Japanese). When Shen-yang fell to the Communists in November, 1948, Kuo I-tung fled to Peking where he stayed until it too was taken over by the Communists; he then moved south to Shanghai, after which he made his way to Taiwan, arriving in April, 1949.[5]

Kuo I-tung was teaching at the Tainan College of Engineering when his attention was drawn to a call for contributions in the field of fiction, drama and poetry by the Literary Awards Committee. Both the award and the manuscript fee were fairly substantial and he decided to write a story on the liquidation of innocent people by the Communists in the north-east. He called it simply Jen min 人民 (People) and found, to his delight, that his contribution was accepted. He was given a manuscript fee of N.T.$800. This success spurred Kuo on to write more stories in the same vein, like Hsin Pi-te 新彼得 (The New Peter) and Hung teng-lung 紅燈籠 (The Red Lantern). He then ventured to write a long novel which was to establish him as one of the early anti-Communist writers to be reckoned with. Called Hung-ch'ung tung-nan fei 蝗蟲東南飛 (The Locusts Fly South-east), Kuo I-tung described the autumn of 1945 after the Japanese had surrendered and

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5 "T'ai-wan ti ch'i-su-shu" 台灣的起訴書 (Taiwan versus Po Yang), ibid., p. 68.

the Russians had moved in to take over and dismantle all Japanese-operated services. With a pen "like a sword"[6] Kuo I-tung describes the "bestiality"[7] and the "cruelty"[8] of the Russian soldiers towards the local Chinese. The novel was accepted and published by the Literary Awards Committee. (It was rewritten in 1966, as the original had the technical imperfections of the inexperienced writer, and was renamed T'ien chiang 天疆 The Frontiers of Heaven and serialized in the newspapers). The novel made a deep impact on its readers and it won the approval of those in authority. It also came to the attention of readers abroad as one of the few novels that had dealt with the Russian Army and its treatment of the Chinese, a subject not generally tackled by other anti-Communist writers.[9]

Another novel which helped to reinforce the impression the reading public had of this particular writer was I chiu pa pa 一九八八 (1988). Fiercely anti-Communist, it is a futuristic tale in which Russia has been defeated and partitioned into smaller countries; China has become strong; her economy is flourishing, and her

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6 WINC, p. 50.

7 ibid.

8 ibid.

9 See TPS, No. 5, in Sun, op.cit., p. 135.

technical advancement is astounding. In 1988 Kuo-I-tung and his wife take an imaginary journey to this new China, and for the sake of contrast the writer compares the old with the new; China's former weaknesses with its "present strength"[10]

Although Kuo-I-tung's first novel was to find a publisher, he soon learnt that he could not expect the Literary Awards Committee to continue to publish his writing and that in the early 1950's it was one thing to write and quite another to find a publisher who would be willing to risk his capital on a still relatively unknown writer. After having spent much time and energy looking for outlets for his work, but with little success, he decided to set up his own publishing company, the P'ing-yüan chu-pan-she 平原出版社; but meeting his overheads was to be one of his major headaches during the time he operated the company.[11] He also found that no writer in Taiwan could live solely by his pen, and 1952 saw him in Taipei working for the T'ai-pei ch'ing-nien kui-chu kuo-chi han-shou hsüeh-hsiao 台北青年歸主國際協會函授學校 (The Taipei Youth for Christ International Correspondence School). Here he was to exhibit something of that temperament that was to shine through his later writing.

A particular incident, which was very revealing of Kuo I-tung, took place in 1952 during the celebrations

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10 TPS, No. 2, in Sun, op.cit., p. 92.

11 Sun Kuan-han, "Tuan-ts'u ho k'u-nan ti jen-sheng" 短促和苦難的人生 (A Short and Hard Life), originally written August 8, 1973. Reprinted in Sun, op.cit., pp. 332, 334.

surrounding the anniversary of the founding of the republic. Being an American organization, the American members of staff of the correspondence school saw no reason to take a holiday, and did not give their Chinese colleagues time off to join the celebrating crowds on the streets. No one was heard to demur except Kuo I-tung. Bristling with indignation, he refused to work and stood instead by the side of the road "in order to demonstrate the protest of a Chinese".[12] On being dismissed, he was prompted to say, "... although our country is at present very small and weak, we are still a nation, and we cannot forget our national day. I pray it will not be long before the Presdident leads us in our counter-attack on the mainland, and when that happens, no one will dare to look down on our national day."[13] The Americans, fortunately, had the grace to admit that they were in the wrong and asked him to stay on. This he would have liked to have done, but the remark of a Chinese colleague to the effect that "Christianity knew no national boundaries"[14] and that Kuo I-tung therefore could not adopt the attitude he had, made him lose his temper, and he left. He was to write about the incident

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12 TPS, No. 2, in Sun op.cit., p 96.

13 ibid.

14 ibid.

the following year for the journal, Tzu-yu t'an tsa-chih 自由談雜誌 (Free Speech).[15] Unfortunately, this episode was later brought up as proof of his "anti-Americanism".[16]

In the years that followed Kuo I-tung taught in various educational institutions such as the Pan Ch'iao Middle School, Ch'eng-kung University and the National School of Arts and Crafts, were he gave introductory courses on literature. He was also associated, in a special capacity, with The Chinese Youth Writers' Association and with the China Youth Corps, and he contributed regularly to their literary journal, Young Lions' Literature.[17] In April, 1959, he withdrew from the China Youth Corps because his divorce and remarriage brought strong social disapproval.[18] He then became assistant editor of the Tzu-li wan-pao 自立晚報 (Independence Evening Post) which brought him a salary of N.T. $700

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15 ibid., and Po Yang, "Pu k'o luan p'eng" 不可亂碰 (Don't Strike Out Indiscriminately), in Kuai ma chi 怪馬集 (Monster Horse), (Hong Kong, Wen-i shu-u, 2nd edit., 1975), p. 181. In this essay, written September 20, 1962, Po Yang again refers to this incident and expresses his disgust at the obsequiousness of certain Chinese towards foreigners.

16 TPS No. 2, in Sun, op.cit., pp. 96-97.

17 See, for example, YSWl, Vol.4, No. 3, 1956; Vol 4, No. 4, 1956; Vol. 6, No. 2, 1957; Vol.8, No.5, 1958, and Vol. 8, No.6, 1958.

18 See Sun, op.cit., p. 335. Sun makes the observation that the very society which frowned upon Kuo I-tung's divorce and remarriage seemed conveniently to have forgotten that Sun Yat-sen, Mao tse-tung and Chiang Kai-shek had had two wives.

a month, far too little for two adult people to live on. His financial situation became even more precarious when the Tzu-li wan-pao ran into difficulties and was unable to pay its staff their regular salaries. The editor-in-chief, however, came to their rescue by assigning each a special column in the paper for which they would be paid N.T. $30 per 1000 characters. This gave them a manuscript fee of about N.T.$900 per month. It was as a result of this arrangement that Kuo I-tung came to write his special column to which he gave the title, "I-meng hsien-hua" 倚夢閒話 (Idle Gossip), which at times came to be his only regular source of income.

Kuo I-tung continued to write fiction and brought out a series of love stories which he called Tsang-ch'iung hsiah ti nü-erh 蒼穹下的女兒 (Girls under A Blue Sky) which was published in 1959. From then on there was a steady flow from his pen so that by 1966 he had at least twelve novels to his credit; a series of short stories; fairy tales and tales from northern Europe retold for children; translations of the work of Korean poets who had been on a cultural mission to Taiwan, as well as numerous articles on literary criticism, written for journals and newspapers.[19]

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19 See WINC, pp. 425, 474, and TPS, No. 5, in Sun op.cit., pp. 135-137.

Although many serious writers at this time were losing interest in anti-Communist fiction and were turning to experimentation with new subjects and new techniques, Kuo I-tung, continued to believe in the value of anti-Communist literature of this kind. In view of the nature of the offense with which he was later to be charged, it is perhaps appropriate at this point to quote Kuo I-tung on the topic of anti-Communist fiction in full.

> There are some people who are of the opinion that anti-Communist fiction is not art, but propaganda; very many great writers, therefore, never write anything which is anti-Communist in order not to mar their reputations or to waste time. But I maintain that anti-Communist fiction is an art form which can not only move contemporary man, but can also be appreciated by posterity for its craftmanship and meaningfulness.
>
> There are two things, however, that must be avoided at all cost. First, it must avoid being like the kind of eight-legged essays "produced by guerrilla bands" which elaborate new layouts with the utmost care; and secondly, it must not describe the enemy as if he were not worth a farthing, otherwise you reduce your own value. In the ten or so novels I have written, therefore, the Communist is never obviously a Communist; in fact, he is the gentleman with the smile on his face. When the Communist is to be feared most is precisely when he is smiling, because a smiling face can lure people into a trap; it can cause people to make the wrong decision.
>
> The anti-Communist fiction which is truly powerful, therefore, is not the kind that describes Communists as wicked or fiendish, nor is it the kind that is full of slogans and party-cries; instead, it is the kind in which the pleasure given and the artistic value is of the highest order.
>
> I do not oppose Communism for the sake of the government, nor do I oppose Communism to benefit myself; but I stand at that point where the whole of mankind's fortune or misfortune can be viewed. I oppose Communism because I stand for the dignity of man ....

> In my works of fiction I make people feel that it is not a particular brand of Communism which is detestable, but that all brands are detestable. This is where, I believe, that I differ in my ideas and writing from other people .....[20]

Despite his strong views on Communism, he did not limit himself to anti-Communist fiction, but ventured to touch on other areas of human existence and human relationships, notably, love, "because there is no definitive version of the love story".[21] He believed in the immortality of the attributes of a person so that "after the flesh has died, a man's love or hatred continues to exist,"[22] and he wrote quite a few works of fiction exploring this theme as, for example, Sha lo leng 莎羅冷 (The Sala Tree is Cold), Ch'iang-shui chieh 強水街 (Ch'iang-shui Street), and Lung-yen chou 龍眼粥 (A Gruel of Longans).

Kuo I-tung as Po Yang, the Satirical Essayist

Successful as he was as a novelist, it was in tsa-wen that Kuo I-tung was to excel, although for that purpose he took the pen-name, Po Yang 柏楊 .

Tsa-wen has variously been translated into English as "an article"[23], "miscellaneous literature (as commentary)"[24]

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20 TPS, No. 5, in Sun, op.cit., pp. 135-136.

21 ibid., p. 136.

22 ibid., p. 137.

23 Modern Chinese - English Technical and General Dictionary New York, London, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1963.

24 Liang Shih-ch'iu, ed., A New Practical Chinese - English Dictionary, (Taipei, The Far East Book Co., Ltd.),1972.

or "satirical essay".[25]

As far as Po Yang is concerned, and from now on we shall continue to refer to Kuo I-tung as Po Yang, the two latter definitions seem to be the most appropriate, for his essays were commentaries on day to day affairs, written with an acid pen.

Po Yang, the essayist, was a different person from Kuo I-tung, the novelist. Using a simple and unsophisticated language that would appeal to the average reader[26] and adopting the querulous, but often teasing or disrespectful tone of a somewhat coarse old man,[27] he began to write about the everyday problems of the man in the street. Po Yang's daily column in Tzu-li wan pao was liberally sprinkled with anecdotes from Chinese history, metaphors, parables from the Bible, Eastern and Western folk tales and Western jokes in order to make a point.[28] He covered a wide range of subjects from culture, literature, politics, and education to love, marriage, family planning,

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25 Fokkema, D.W. Literary Doctrine in China and Soviet Influence. 1956 - 1960, (The Hague, Mouton, 1965), p. 280.

26 Han Sung in Sun, op.cit., p. 236.

27 Sun Kuan-han, "Tuan-ts'u ho k'u-nan ti jen-sheng", in Sun, op.cit., p.330.

28 Yao Li-min 姚立民, "Chien-chieh Po Yang ti sheng-p'ing ho chu-tso" 簡介柏楊的生平和著作 (A Brief Introduction to the Life and Works of Po Yang). The original was written in New York on July 23, 1973, and published in the September and October issues of Ch'i-shih nien-tai 七十年代 (The Seventies). Reprinted in Sun, op.cit., p.287.

fashion and women.[29] He was not afraid to point a reproving finger at people in authority if he felt they were using their position to gain advantages for themselves. He therefore took the representatives of the National Assembly to task when it came to light that they were seeking a pay rise of up to U.S.$4000 per month in order to gain parity with members of the Legislative Yüan. He reminded them that the majority of people they were supposed to represent were still on the mainland and looking eastward towards Taiwan "with tears in their eyes".[30] What were they to conclude when they saw the people whom they had elected "gather together after they were drunk with wine and sated with food, and, offering even greater representation on their behalf, stretch out their hands for more money ....."[31] He was also critical of the police, whom he called the San tso p'ai 三作牌 (The School of The Three Be's)[32] because,he maintained, they did not apply the law with

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29 Sun Kuan-han, "Tuan-ts'u ho k'u-nan ti jen-sheng" in Sun op.cit., p.330 and Po Yang, Yü tiao chi 玉雕集 (Jade Engravings). In the latter, Po Yang writes almost exclusively about women and fashion in a slightly facetious tone.

30 Po Yang, "Chia kai lao-yin" 加蓋烙印 (Branded "Cover-up"), in Kuai-ma chi, p.32. The original article was written December 28, 1960.

31 ibid.

32 According to Po Yang, the police saw themselves as "being sovereign, parent and teacher" to the people. (Tso chih chün, tso chih ch'in, tso chih shih 作之君,作之親,作之師). If Confucius were to apply for recruitment into the Taiwan police force, Po Yang said, he would probably not be accepted since he had only merited one title: Teacher. See Yao li-min in Sun, op.cit., pp. 289-290.

impartiality. Money and influence procured for the rich and influential offender far better treatment than was meted out to people on the lower rungs of the social ladder.[33] He had little time for those who went abroad to study, not as their predecessors had done in the early days of the republic, out of patriotism and desire to put their skills at the service of their country, but purely in order to seek a better and financially more rewarding life else-where, with little regard for the society they had left behind.[34] He poked fun at those who larded their conversation with foreign words in order to impress people and called them hsi tsai 西崽 (Westerner's toadies); he queried the need for doctors to write up their patients' medical records in any language but Chinese.[35] He argued for a more sympathetic attitude on the part of the public toward postmen who had to serve multi-storied buildings. It appeared that the postmen had received a lot of abuse for suggesting that letter-boxes be placed on the ground floor.[36] He expressed concern for adequate

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33 ibid, p.294.

34 Po Yang, "Ch'u kuo jen-sheng-kuan" 出國人生觀 (The Philosophy of Emigration), in Kuai ma chi, p.172. The original article was written September 15,1962.

35 Po Yang, "Kou P'ang hsien-sheng" 狗胖先生 (Mr Kou P'ang) in Szu pu jen ts'o chi (Stubborn to the End), (Hong Kong, Wen-i shu-u, 2nd ed., 1974), pp. 109-110, and "I-sheng ch'u-fang" 醫生處方 (When Doctors Prescribe Medicines), in Kuai ma chi pp. 167-169.

36 Po Yang, "Hsien-tai-hua wen-t'i" 現代化問題 (A Question of Modernization) in Hsin-hsüeh lai ch'ao chi 心血來潮集 (Brainstorm), (Hong Kong, Wen-i shu-u, 2nd ed. 1975), pp. 85-87.

typhoon warnings; for greater care on the roads, and for a host of minor things that would make life that much more tolerable for the hsiao shih min 小市民 (The humble city-dwellers)[37]

Po Yang's rapport with the man in the street was astonishing, and he captured his attention with his first column for "he dared to say what people did not dare say; he was outspoken when pointing out what was unfair in society; and in a lively and revealing manner, he described the ugly faces of those who made the common people dare to be angry, but not dare to express that anger... he became, in fact, the spokesman for the humble city-dweller".[38]

Po Yang's first series of articles entitled "Idle Gossip" appeared in the Tzu-li wan-pao, but his tsa-wen soon found their way to other newspapers and publications, notably the Kung lun pao, Jen-chien shih tsa-chih 人間世雜誌 (The World) and Yang-ming tsa-chih 陽明雜誌 (Yang-ming)[39]. His "Idle Gossip" was collected together in ten volumes; these were followed by a further series of tsa-wen which were later put together in book form; two of them, Yü yen chi 魚雁集 (Letters) and She yao chi 蛇腰集 (The Serpent's Waist) were distinctly anti-Communist.

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37 See Han Sung in Sun, op.cit., p. 236.

38 ibid.

39 See Yao Li-min in Sun, op.cit., p. 285, and WINC, pp. 390-396.

The East-West Controversy

It was inevitable that Po Yang should be drawn into the controversy on Eastern versus Western culture that was sparked off in January 1962, and in which Li Ao played such a leading role.

Whereas Li Ao, however, could be regarded as the hero and spokesman of the young intellectuals in the various controversies in which he was involved, Po Yang might more properly be regarded as the spokesman for the man in the street for through his tsa-wen he was equally fearless in asking awkward questions or in denouncing that which was wrong in society, although his tone was rather more mellow than Li Ao's.[40]

Po Yang maintained that the ills of society resulted from attitudes that were fostered by traditional Chinese culture, which he labelled "the soysauce vat culture", (chiang-kang wen-hua 醬缸文化)[41]. Like Li Ao, he too wanted to see China grow strong through democratic government and modernization, but unlike Li Ao, he did not advocate wholesale westernization, which creates as many problems as it cures.[42] He was proud to be

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40 See Hua Wen-yung 華文湧, "Hsiao lun Po Yang" 小論柏楊 (Some Remarks on Po Yang), originally published in Nan pei chi, No. 28, Hong Kong, September, 1972. Reprinted in Sun, op.cit. p. 221.

41 Po Yang, "Chu-yao ch'eng-fen" 主要成份 (An Important Ingredient), in Szu pu jen ts'o chi pp. 25-26. The original article was written May 31, 1967.

42 See Hua Wen-yung in Sun, op.cit., p. 221.

Chinese, as he demonstrated in the incident with the Taipei Youth for Christ International Correspondence School, and he was highly critical of those who thought anything foreign was superior to things Chinese,[43] but he was not therefore blind to the faults of his own people, and he is at his most scathing when he writes about the products of "the soysauce vat culture".

There were those who saw Po Yang as a second Lu Hsün,[44] for like Lu Hsün, he too attacked "intolerance, inertia, hypocrisy, servility toward a superior and arrogance toward a subordinate, opportunism and hesitation",[45] traits that had by no means vanished from the Chinese character since Lu Hsün first wrote about them.

In a series of tsa-wen which were later collected together and entitled, Szu pu jen ts'o chi 死不認錯集 (Stubborn to the End)[46], Po Yang defined what he meant by

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43 See Yao Li-min in Sun, op.cit., p. 293-294.

44 ibid., pp. 304-307.

45 Chow Tse-tsung, op.cit., p.311.

46 Po Yang wrote at least seventeen collections of tsa-wen, totalling some two million eight hundred thousand characters, of which the most notable were: Kuai ma chi, written between January, 1960 and September 1962; Sheng-jen chi, written between March, 1960, and January, 1963; Feng-huang chi 鳳凰集 (The Phoenix), written between February and June 1963; Tao mao an-jan 道貌岸然 (The Hypocrites), written between April and October, 1963; Wen-kuo tse nu chi 聞過則怒集 (Anger at Things Heard), written between February and May, 1964; Li cheng chi 立正集 (Attention), written between February and June, 1965; Hsin hsüeh lai ch'ao chi, written between October, 1965 and March, 1966, and Po - p'i chi 剝皮集 (Squeeze), written between February and May, 1967. See Yao Li-min in Sun, op.cit., pp. 292-300 and WINC, p. 443. Po Yang's collections of tsa-wen have been reprinted in Hong Kong by Wen-i shu u between 1972 and 1975 in at least two editions.

the soysauce vat. He described it as a huge vat which contains all the worst traits of the Chinese character, and he went on to say,

> The soysauce vat stands for a confused society where the forces of erosion and the forces of stagnation are at their most powerful. It also stands for a kind of politics of enslavement; it is a malformed morality; a distinctive philosophy of life, and a snobbism which has been destructive over a long period of time; it has created a confused society in which the intelligence peculiar to man is made inactive or made to vanish without a trace....[47]

Po Yang went on to develop his idea by asking why it was that China, which had had an illustrious history for over five thousand years, should have been so weak between the years of 1842 and 1949 that foreign powers could encroach on her territory and dictate their own terms. She had a population which was larger than that of any other nation; she was rich in natural resources, yet she could in no way measure up to such countries like the United States of even Japan. There could only be two possible answers to these questions. One was that there was something wrong with the intelligence of the Chinese, and the other was that China's traditional culture was at fault. That there was nothing wrong with the intelligence of the Chinese people could be verified by China's past accomplishments and by the fact that Chinese

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47 Po Yang, "Chu-yao ch'eng-fen" in Szu pu jen ts'o chi, p. 25.

scholars overseas were in no way inferior to those of other nations. The fault, then, had to lie with China's traditional culture. Chinese culture, Po Yang suggested, tends to foster the love for or the worship of power. Power may command respect, but it also leads to much fear between man and man and not to benevolence or compassion, a quality much talked about throughout Chinese history, but not much in evidence. Fear tends to govern the relationships between children and parents, pupils and teachers, the governed and those who govern. Fear leads to suspicion and jealousy, and here Po Yang went on to illustrate how much life has been conducted in an atmosphere of suspicion and fear both in imperial and republican China.[48] Hand in hand with the love of power, suspicion and fear, comes selfishness and an inability to co-operate, one with the other. Why is it, asked Po Yang, that when three Chinese are together "you have to squabble with me, and I have to squabble with you ..."[49] The benefits of co-operation were enormous, yet it was hard to convince people that this was so; instead modern society expressed this unco-operative attitude in a fiercely competitive enterprise system,

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48 See Po Yang,"Ch'ing-k'o chih hsiah. Sheng szu i chih" 鏗 欬 之 下. 生 死 以 之 (Life and Death at the Mercy of a Cough), ibid., pp. 35-37. The original article was written June 6, 1967.

49 Po Yang,"Pi piao-sao ti tsui" 敝 表 嫂 的 口 嘴 (My Aunt's Mouth), ibid., p. 118. The original was written July 19, 1967.

social and political climbing, and indifference to the resultant alienation between man and his neighbour.

It was this inability or unwillingness to co-operate, opportunism, and selfish striving for power which brought the nation to its knees in the past, and could easily do so again unless everyone learnt his lesson.

Other products of the soysauce vat, maintained Po Yang, were heartlessness and cruelty; and he backs up his arguments by providing illustrations from both the past and the present; and in the case of the present, cites a particular case of police brutality in Taiwan.[50]

What Po Yang hoped to do via his tsa-wen was to shock those who were suffering from the effects of the soy-sauce vat culture into a realization of their "disease"[51] so that they would do something about it and thereby effect a change, the benefits of which would percolate through to all levels of society. The shock was administered, not out of malice or a sense of superiority, but out of love and concern. "The deeper the love", said Po Yang, "the harsher the reproof".[52] But having once pointed out the symptoms and their causes, he felt he could leave it to every thinking Chinese

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50 See Yao Li-min in Sun, op.cit.,p. 314.

51 ibid., p. 306.

52 TPS, No. 2, in Sun, op.cit., p. 94.

> ... to submit himself continually to a searching self-examination; and if mistakes had been committed, to correct them; but if none had been committed, to make an effort to refrain from doing so. If the numbers of thinking people grew; if those who "corrected their mistakes" or those who "refrained from making mistakes" grew more powerful, then within a few years the old diseases of the Chinese people would be cured.[53]

It would be wrong to convey the impression that Po Yang could do nothing but find fault with the Chinese tradition. He neverscolded his people in such a manner as to suggest that the solution to China's problems were to be found in the West. On the contrary,as the quotation suggests, the solution was to be found within; in the pruning of certain defects in the national character.

Po Yang was not mesmerized by the West as were so many of the young intellectuals who were advocating wholesale westernization. In fact, there were facets of Western society which he found quite frightening as, for example, the worship of youth and the callous indifference of the young toward the old. China might have many failings, but this was not one of them. China also had certain traditions and ceremonies which were of immense importance in a world of rapidly changing values. If there was any virtue, for example,

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[53] Yao Li-min in Sun, op.cit., p. 306.

in celebrating the Ch'ing-ming Festival, quaint as it might seem to outsiders, it lay in the fact that "it taught the young to know where their 'roots' were."[54]

The Translation of "Popeye" and its Consequences

The controversy that raged between intellectuals regarding the positive and negative aspects of the Chinese tradition was not allowed to continue indefinitely. It came to a rather ignominious end, as we have seen, in June 1964 when some of its participants sued each other for defamation of character and the debate was brought to a halt by court action. Po Yang, however, had nothing to do with this part of the proceedings. He continued to work at an incredible speed, producing article after article on anything of public interest; where there was injustice or corruption, Po Yang would take the matter up with his pen. In addition to this he would give a weekly talk on the programme called, Nan hai yeh hua 南海夜話 (South Seas Midnight Chat), on the Educational Broadcasting Station[55] in Taipei.

Po Yang's tsa-wen won him many friends, but they also won him enemies, particularly in "the corridors of power". Apart from those who felt personally affronted by Po Yang's articles because they came too close to the truth for comfort and who therefore tried

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54 Po Yang, "Wan-cheng ti jen-sheng" 完整的人生 (The Perfect Life), in Szu pu jen ts'o, p. 96.

55 See TPS, No. 5, in Sun, op.cit., p. 141.

to put pressure on the papers to which he contributed to have them refuse to accept his work,[56] there were others who saw his diagnosis of the ills that had befallen the Chinese character as an attempt to undermine the morale of the people at a time when the Cultural Renaissance Movement was trying to counteract the effects of the Cultural Revolution on the mainland.

Judging by the sequence of events, it would appear that the authorities were looking for an excuse to rid themselves of this writer who was causing them so much embarrassment. The excuse came in the shape of Popeye (Ta li shui-shou 大力水手) the famous American cartoon character, whose fans are to be found among children and adults alike. Po Yang was responsible for obtaining the cartoon strip from the King Feature Syndicate in New York, in May, 1967, supplying a Chinese translation of the captions and having it printed in the Chung-hua jih-pao. Even when he did not make the original translation, he was responsible for putting the finishing touches to the text. He admitted that he did not always adhere strictly to the original; in order "to add to the humour"[57] he might rearrange or rewrite the dialogue, and that is what he did on January 3, 1968. The original text of that day's strip had appeared in the United States from October 6 to October 13, 1967.

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56 See Yao Li-min in Sun, op.cit., p. 285.

57 TPS, No. 1, in Sun, op.cit., p. 72.

Popeye and Junior had bought themselves an island, so the story-line went, and after admiring their newly-acquired property Popeye had been made to say,

Popeye: It's great to own yer own country. I kin be king, president or anything I want. I yam the absolute ruler to the total population of Popalania.

Junior: That's me.

Popeye: Popalania is goner be the mos peaceful nation on earth.

Junior: How is ya goner manage that?

Popeye It will be simple for a smart ruler like me to build a peaceful country. I will only let the swabs I knows I can lick become citizens.

Junior: Now that ya owns yer own country, how is ya goner rule it?

Popeye: We is goin to have free elections and I yam running for presidink.

Junior: How kin yer have an election when they is only two of us, and one of us is running for office?

Popeye: And one of us is going to vote!
I bought this country, I named it Popalania and I has the right to run for presidink if I wants to.

Junior: Phooey! What an election!! Yer the only candidate and I yam the only voter.

Popeye: As a candidate for presidink of this new country, I would like to make a speech.

Junior: Okay!

Popeye: Fellow Popalanians. If ya votes for me, I promise to give ya peace,happiness and spinach in yer pots !

Junior: Hooray.

Popeye: and if ya don't vote fer yer adopted pappy, ya just might git spanked.

Junior: Gulp![58]

A rough translation of the above dialogue was made by Yen Su-hsin 彥素心, a student from the Phillippines, but Po Yang made some alterations, particularly to the section regarding Popeye's elections, and the final version came out in the home edition of Chung-hua jih-pao like this:

Popeye: What a beautiful kingdom. I am king; I am president; I can be anything I want to be.

Junior: What about me?

Popeye: You can be crown prince.

Junior: If I'm going to be anything at all, I'm going to be president.

Popeye: You've got a nerve for one who's only a baby.

Junior: And are you, Old Man, thinking of writing an article for publication?

Popeye: I'm going to write a manifesto addressed to my fellow-countrymen.

Junior: But there are only the two of us in the whole country; don't you know that?

Popeye: I'm still going to make a speech. My country is a democratic country; everyone has the right to vote.

Junior: Everyone? But there are just the two of us. Wait, let me think; I'll run for election too.

Popeye: I shall first make my election speech saying, Fellow-countrymen ....

Junior: Not a bad beginning!

Popeye: You must not under any circumstances vote for Junior!

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58 The seven cartoon strips have been reprinted with some of Po Yang's letters to Sun Kuan-han in Sun op.cit., p. 5-26.

Junior: Hey! What's the big idea?[59]

If one compares the two texts, it is easy to see that Po Yang toned down his translation considerably; he cut out the passage about Popalania only having the kind the citizen Popeye could "lick", and the passage which said, "if yer don't vote fer yer adopted pappy yer just might get spanked." But in view of what followed, he obviously had not toned it down sufficiently for it not to be taken as an oblique attack on President Chiang Kai-shek.

The over-reaction on the part of the authorities would suggest that the cartoon strip had touched a sensitive nerve or had exposed a basic truth about Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo that was better left unsaid. Whatever the reason, Po Yang was made to pay dearly for his "audacity".

On February 29, 1968, both Po Yang and his wife, Ni Ming-hua 倪明華, better known as the writer, Ai Mei 艾玫[60] were held for questioning for fifteen hours by the Bureau of Investigation

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59 ibid, pp. 23-26, and Yao Li-min in Sun, op.cit., pp 318-319.

60 Ai Mei, born in Chin-hua, Chekiang was one of the young women writers who made a name for herself in the early sixties. She became editor of "The Home" section of the Chung-hua jih-pao and later editor-in-chief of the P'ing-yüan Publishing Company.

of the Ministry of Justice regarding the translation of the Popeye cartoon, the "tone"[61] of which was said to be "insulting to the Head of State."[62] The Bureau of Investigation maintained that Po Yang had procured the cartoon strip as a means of making covert attacks on the leaders of the land. On March 1 and March 2 Po Yang was held for further questioning for twenty-seven hours because of the changes he had made to that particular translation which originally had been produced by Miss Yen; but he was permitted to return home. On March 4 around 7 pm, however, Po Yang was taken into custody by the Bureau of Investigation and was not seen again. Even twelve days later his wife had not been notified about his whereabouts or for what reason he was being held. At the same time pressure was brought to bear on her to resign from her position at the Broadcasting Corporation of China for which she had worked for seven years. Servants asked for leave of absence; friends who made enquiries regarding Po Yang on Ai Mei's behalf were cautioned, and in the end friends stopped coming to her house for fear of being implicated.[63]

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61 Sun Kuan-han,"Ju yü shih ti ta-kai" 入獄時的大概 (An Outline of Events at the Time of Imprisonment), originally published in Jen-wu yü szu-hsiang 人物與思想 (Man and Ideas), Nos.56,57, October, November, 1971. Reprinted in Sun op.cit.,p.35.

62 ibid.

63 Ai Mei wrote four letters in rapid succession,March 6, 9,14,16,to Sun Kuan-han informing him of the catastrophe that had befallen the family. See ibid.,pp.28-33.

Although the press must have been aware of what was going on, not a word regarding Po Yang made the headlines. An unnatural silence enveloped the whole affair. Complete secrecy was maintained from beginning to end; and had it not been for Sun Kuan-han 孫觀漢, the well-known physicist and atomic scientist in the United States[64] to whom Ai Mei turned for support, most of the documents relating to the Po Yang case would not have found their way to a particular printing house in Hong Kong.[65]

Eight days after receiving Ai Mei's last letter, Sun Kuan-han made an appeal to three cabinet ministers to intercede on Po Yang's behalf,[66] and on June 17 he wrote to Chiang Ching-kuo whom he had met in person

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64 Sun Kuan-han , born in Shaohsing, Chekiang, gained his Ph.D. in Pittsburgh, after which he took up permanent residence in the United States. Sun was one of the first physicists to measure the neutron and to determine the light emitted by the moon by using the fragment of a meteor. He helped to establish the atomic research station in Tsinghua University in Taiwan and was its head for one year. Despite his thirty years in the United States, Sun was looked upon as a "returned scholar" and was held in high esteem in Taiwan.

65 Sun Kuan-han had never met Po Yang in person despite six visits to Taiwan, but he had read his work and had entered into correspondence with him around October 1965. Sun greatly admired Po Yang, although he did not altogether agree with his views. When Ai Mei wrote to Sun regarding Po Yang's arrest, he made it his business to keep abreast of developments and subsequently to try to arrive at the truth after sifting through much conflicting material. How this material got into his possession, Sun does not venture to divulge. Sun Kuan-han,"Tuan-ts'u ho k'u-nan ti jen-sheng", in Sun, op.cit., pp. 331-332.

66 See Sun Kuan-han, "Ju yü shih ti ta-kai", in Sun, op.cit., pp. 34-39.

on at least three occasions. He set out the facts as he knew them with regard to Po Yang and vouched for his integrity.[67] Sun's letters went unanswered, as did all subsequent letters.[68]

Meanwhile, between his arrest on March 4 and his trial in June, Po Yang was subjected to continuous interrogation regarding his past in an attempt to implicate him in some hypothetical Communist plot. As the case progressed, little mention was made of the Popeye incident; instead, everything hinged on the charge that he was a Communist agent. Attention was directed to his writings, particularly those that dealt with Communism. How, it was asked, could Po Yang write so convincingly about the Russians in his novel, The Frontiers of Heaven, for example, unless he had had more to do with the Russians than he had led people to believe? Why did he seek to expose social evil in his daily newspaper column unless he was trying to suggest that the government was incompetent and thereby to undermine the people's confidence in it? Why should he undermine the people's

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67 See Sun Kuan-han, "Ying-chiu ti wu-hsiao. Chiang Ching-kuo Hsien-sheng: Ch'iu ch'iu ni, shih-fang Po Yang Hsien-sheng" 營救的無效蔣經國先生:求求你釋放柏楊先生 (Rescue Attempts are Useless. I Implore You, Mr. Chiang Ching-kuo, to Set Mr. Po Yang Free), originally written January 20,1969. Reprinted in Sun, op.cit., pp.183-191.

68 Sun wrote to Chiang Ching-kuo on June 17,1968; January 20,1969, and September 10,1967. ibid., pp. 183-196.

confidence in the government unless he had been instructed by the Communists to work for Taiwan's downfall?[69]

The interrogation of Po Yang was often conducted at night for many nights in succession. He was either taunted or cursed, along with his ancestors,[70] or it was suggested to him that in turn for his co-operation a political solution would be found. No one would ever know where any information he gave had come from. If he helped the investigating officers, they would help him. All he had to do was to admit his past connection with the Communists, supply a few corroborating names, dates and place names, and he would be released. The solution to his problem amounted to nothing more drastic than "taking a bath and washing away the dirt on the body ....."[71] If he persisted in being stubborn, however, all he could expect was a court martial.

During the fortnight that followed his arrest, Po Yang wrote numerous statements protesting his innocence. He also wrote down everything he could remember regarding his personal history, but the investigating officer was

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69 See TPS, No.1., in Sun op.cit., pp. 86, 95.

70 ibid., p. 75.

71 ibid., p. 76. This remark was made by Section Chief Liu Chan-hua 劉展華 to Po Yang's wife when he went to her home to tell her that Po Yang's release was only a matter of time. It is interesting to compare Po Yang's case with that of P'eng Ming-min four years earlier. P'eng too was made to understand that as his offense was political, it was therefore "not serious". See P'eng Ming-min op.cit., p. 141.

not satisfied because he had written nothing detrimental about himself.[72]

Whether it was failure of nerve, error of judgement or just Po Yang trying to beat his interrogators at their own game, we shall probably never know, but he suddenly decided to co-operate by admitting to all the charges laid against him; by saying what the interrogators wanted him to say, and by producing a confession that, he was led to believe, would facilitate his release.[73] Whatever the reason, Po Yang produced a confession that finally satisfied the Bureau of Investigation. On reading through his second confession he thought to himself that he had made his story look quite plausible; it might not be "fiction of the finest caliber .... but it was very true to life ...."[74] At the same time, however, he felt sure that the investigating officers would see that his confession was pure fabrication when they compared his statement with information held in the Bureau's files. Be that as it may, the authorities were determined to accept his confession as true, and proceeded accordingly.

Instead of a political solution being found to his

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72 See TPS, No.1, in Sun, op.cit., pp. 73-74.

73 Po Yang was to say in one of his retractions that the idea had formed at the back of his mind during this period that if a "political solution" were found, he could live with the shame of having admitted to "crimes" he had not committed, but that if his case came to court, he would under no circumstances speak anything but the truth. See TPS, No. 2 in Sun, op.cit., p. 91.

74 TPS, No.4, in Sun, op.cit., p.118.

"problem", Po Yang found himself held over for trial for a criminal offense - that of being a Communist.

By confessing to crimes he had not committed, Po Yang had played straight into the hands of those who wanted him out of the way; and as he was to say in one of his later retractions,

> ... it was a trick. Not only did I not go home, but the sentence of capital punishment was called for; and capital punishment was the result of the story I had made up. I do not think any story anywhere in the world could have had a greater power for destruction. I ought to have been proud. But the pity of it was, I had become my own executioner ...[75]

Although by "perjuring" himself Po Yang might appear to have been caught in a trap partly of his own making, he had, in fact, as had P'eng Ming-min four years earlier, already been judged; and no matter what he did, the outcome would have been the same.[76] What followed, therefore, was just a formality.

The indictment against Po Yang was read on June 27, 1968, by the military prosecutor, Kuo Cheng-hsi 郭政熙, the main gist of which was that Po Yang (Kuo I-tung) had come under the influence of left-wing writers in his youth; that he had associated with known Communists since his student days; that after the fall of Shen-yang (Mukden) to the Communists in 1948 he had come down to Peking and had tried to gather information regarding the 16th Army by "using" an "unsuspecting" girl friend;

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75 ibid.

76 ibid., p. 132, and P'eng Ming-min , op.cit., p. 173.

that he was known to have said that true freedom could only be found under a Communist government; that he had come to Taiwan on behalf of the Communists, expressly to infiltrate the information services and education; to promote cultural warfare and, generally, to work for disruption and disharmony in society.[77]

The indictment was lengthy and detailed, and there was no longer any question of Po Yang being released in return for his "co-operation". Instead, he was sentenced to eighteen years imprisonment for being part of a Communist conspiracy.

Po Yang Answers the Charges Laid Against Him

Tricked into making a false statement and having gained nothing but shame, regret and a long prison sentence, Po Yang set out to put the record straight. He might be a lot of things, but a Communist, he maintained, he was not. In more than ten Refutations addressed to the Military Court of the Taiwan Provincial Garrison Command, Po Yang strove to put on record the truth about himself and about his attitudes to Communism.

With regard to the charge that he had come under the influence of left-wing writers like Lu Hsün and Pa Chin, Po Yang wrote that the works of these two writers were so prevalent around the nineteen thirties that there were few intellectuals around the age of fifty today who had

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77 See "T'ai-wan ti ch'i-su-shu", in Sun, op.cit., pp. 65-71.

not at one time or another come across their writing. Did this mean that every middle-aged intellectual was suspected of being left-wing? At the time in question he had been far too busy studying mathematics from English textbooks at the Kaifeng Senior High School to be able to indulge in much leisure reading.[78]

As for his association with known communists, they had either been accidental or he had been in direct conflict with them; this could be vouched for by the Youth Corps and the student associations he had joined. Matters had, in fact, once come to a head between him and the left-wing professor, Lu Mao, at the North-eastern University, the consequences of which were that he was expelled. There were those in Taiwan who could testify to this. Why, complained Po Yang, had the investigating officers suppressed this piece of information?[79]

As for the charges that he had deliberately set out to create dissatisfaction with the government by writing the way he did, surely the works he had written, some of which had been selected for broadcasting to the mainland,[80] were a testimony to his anti-Communist stance. "Not one of Po Yang's books", he wrote, "-the early ones were published seven, eight years ago, the more recent ones,

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78 See TPS, No. 1, in Sun, op.cit., p. 77.

79 ibid., p. 78.

80 ibid., p. 87 One of Po Yang's works selected for broadcasting to the mainland was the collection of tsa-wen, Yü yen chi.

one to two years ago - have been banned, which surely proves that the contents were not questionable."[81]

Instead of reading what he had written in their proper context, one of the interrogators had, Po Yang maintained, just flipped through the pages of his books, and underlined certain passages whilst saying, "This is questionable," and "This is questionable."[82] But, argued Po Yang, one could find fault with some of the writings of the President himself if they were taken out of context.[83] He elaborated this point in his fifth Refutation by demonstrating how taking something out of context can give a completely different picture from the one intended by the writer. He takes as examples passages written by Sun Yat-sen in which he appears to be equating the Principles of the People's Livelihood (min-sheng chu-i 民生主義) with Communism and where he states that Communism, as the highest ideal, has the solution to society's problems. If Sun Yat-sen were to be judged on these passages alone, he would stand little chance of being acquitted.[84] The practice of taking something out of context was neither "scientific" nor "fair."[85] Po Yang therefore appealed to the judge to read his works in their entirety, not

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81 ibid.

82 ibid.

83 ibid.

84 See TPS, No. 5, in Sun, op.cit., p. 142-143.

85 ibid., p. 143.

just certain passages that had been selected to prove the case for the prosecution.

Po Yang was also bothered by the fact that his "compassion for the poor"[86] was taken as proof of his Communist leanings. "You speak out exclusively on behalf of the poor," chided his chief interrogator, Liu Chan-hua on one occasion. "You want the rich to love the poor; you say that if the rich do not realize their mistakes, the consequences do not bear thinking about. If these are not Communist ideas, what are they?" But, protested Po Yang in his second Refutation, the Propaganda Department of the Central Party Headquarters ought to know that

> ... these are Christian ideas; they are San Min Chu I ideas. Communist ideas are quite the opposite. Communist ideology encourages the rich to ill-treat the poor, for only thus can they whip up hatred and create conflict. Our country has been fighting Communism for fifty years, yet even this little bit of common knowledge seems to have eluded them...[87]

Coming back to the charge regarding the writing which the military prosecutor had maintained was written for the express purpose of creating dissatisfaction with the government - a well-known Communist tactic - Po Yang argued that there were a number of books on the market which referred to current social problems. Did this mean that all the writers of such books were engaged in cultural warfare on behalf of the Communists? There

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86 TPS, No. 2, in Sun, op.cit., p. 97.

87 ibid.

were many things in society today which were wrong; there was much that held the country back. But social problems were not the sole prerogative of Taiwan. Other countries and other societies had their problems too. How people faced up to their problems depended largely upon the depth of their feeling for their country. Those who did not care whether their country prospered or declined, closed their eyes and kept their mouths shut. They certainly never ran the risk of being accused of "plotting an insurrection."[88] "I admit," wrote Po Yang in his fifth Refutation, "That I voiced my disapproval again and again ...,"[89] and he went to ask whether he should not have spoken out against social injustice or against corruption. Should he not have pointed out where society was going wrong and where it needed to make improvements? What had prompted his outspokenness was nothing other than a deep love for his country.

But neither Po Yang's protestations of his deep love for his country nor of his affection for the President, "like that of a child for an older relative"[90], had any effect on those who were handling his case.

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88 TPS, No. 5, in Sun, op.cit., p.140.

89 ibid.

90 TPS, No.1, in Sun, op.cit., p.72.

Epilogue

Po Yang's Refutations were written over a period of three months, the first being dated August 4 and the last October 30, 1968,[91] but so far as the authorities were concerned, the case was closed.

Neither Po Yang's arrest, his trial nor his sentence was made known to the public. But it would be impossible for a writer of Po Yang's caliber suddenly to drop out of sight without people privately asking questions. However, it was left to Sun Kuan-han and Chinese overseas to take up the cudgels on Po Yang's behalf. The facts of the case were eventually put before the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations; letters were written to both Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo in person; petitions for Po Yang's release were signed by Chinese research scholars in the United States, and plans were drawn up for the re-printing of Po Yang's works.[92] None of this activity was acknowledged in Taiwan, and Po Yang served the first four years of his sentence in a

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91 ibid., p. 88 and TPS, No.10 in Sun, op.cit. p.173.

92 Sun Kuan-han, "Ju yü shih ti ta-kai", p. 45 and "Ju-ho chiu Po Yang" 如何救柏楊 (How to save Po Yang), originally published in C.U.C. Monthly, No. 7 (Pittsburgh, August 9, 1972), a news sheet brought out by Carnegie-Mellon University, Pittsburgh. Reprinted in Sun, op.cit., p. 250.

prison in the vicinity of Taipei, after which he was transferred to a maximum security prison on Green Island off the coast of southern Taiwan. Two years after he was gaoled he filed for a divorce so that his wife would not have to suffer further harrassment because of his "crimes"[93].

Despite the lack of results, Sun Kuan-han continued to champion Po Yang's cause, for although Po Yang himself might not benefit from his intervention, "the second generation of 'Po Yangs' might".[94]

Summing up how he felt about the Po Yang affair, Sun said in letters to the editors of Nan pei chi 南北極 (Perspective), Hong Kong and C.U.C. Monthly Pittsburgh,

> ... I do not belong to the school of thought that believes the moon is rounder in the United States than in China; but I do know that if Mr Po Yang had been in the United States, the American people would never have permitted the American government to put him in prison. However, I must not put the responsibility on the poor Chinese people. Let me re-phrase what I have just said: What has incarcerated or destroyed Mr Po Yang is Mr Po Yang's discovery - the soysauce mentality of the Chinese people...[95]

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93 Sun Kuan-han, "Tuan-ts'u ho k'u-nan ti jen-sheng" in Sun, op.cit., p.335.

94 Sun Kuan-han, "Sun Kuan-han fu Huang Szu-p'in" 孫觀漢復黃思騁 (Sun Kuan-han's Reply to Huang Szu-p'in), published in Jen-wu yü szu-hsiang, No. 57, December, 1971. Reprinted in Sun, op.cit., p.277.

95 Sun Kuan-han, "Ts'ung pi ho chien t'an tao Po Yang" 從筆和劍談到柏楊 published in Nan pei chi, No. 32, January, 1972. Reprinted in Sun, op.cit., p. 232.

> ...I am of the opinion that it was not the Taiwan government, nor the Chiangs, father and son, that presided over the detention of Mr Po Yang, but that it was China's traditional practice of despotism and that insidious education which has been handed down from one generation to the next.
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> The abuse and bullying of the common people by those in power have been both widespread and common throughout Chinese history. If this had been the Ming or Ch'ing period, or even the time of Chang Sung-ch'ang 張宋昌 [96] I'm afraid Mr Po Yang would have been put to death a long time ago. Looked at from this angle, who can say that the present government has not made progress? But, of course, it has not progressed far enough .[97]

Postscript

Po Yang was given an amnesty in 1977 after having served nine years of his eighteen year sentence. Shortly after his release from prison Chung-kuo shih-pao 中國時報 (The China Times) announced that Po Yang would be writing a special column for the paper. The announcement caused quite a stir in literary circles in Taipei; and fellow-writers and former readers greeted the news with delight.

In July of the same year the editor of a publishing journal, Ch'u-pan-chia 出版家 (The Publisher) sent a woman writer, Han Han 韓韓 in the United States, the announcement of a forthcoming publication

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96 I have been unable to locate this name in any of the standard reference works. It is not impossible that there is a misprint here in the text available to me and that the name should really be Chang Ch'ang-tsung 張昌宗, one of the notorious brothers who rose to high rank under Empress Wu of the T'ang dynasty (684 - 705). For further details see Twitchett, Denis and Fairbank, John K. The Cambridge History of China Vol.3, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 315-316, 318-321.

97 Sun Kuan-han, "Ju-ho chiu Po Yang" in Sun, op.cit.p. 248.

of a reader's guide to literature in Taipei entitled, Ai shu jen 愛書人 (Booklovers). Its author was Kuo I-tung (Po Yang). Han Han immediately cut out this announcement and sent the clipping to a friend in New York in order to let him and other Po Yang supporters know that Po Yang had not lost the capacity to write. The same writer went to Taiwan in order to see for herself how Po Yang was faring after nine years in prison.

At a meeting lasting over four hours Po Yang spoke freely to Han Han of the events that led to his imprisonment and about his life in gaol. Despite the heat and humidity of Green Island, he told her, he had managed to write a history of the Chinese people; a genealogy of members of the Imperial household, and chronological tables of Chinese history. If they were ever published, he said, the first copy of each would be given to Sun Kuan-han for his untiring efforts on his behalf, and the next would be given to two individuals whose friendship and support had sustained him whilst in prison.

Po Yang told Han Han that there were plans afoot to bring together all his works in a collection which might also include the three reference works written in gaol.

The conversation moved away from Po Yang's personal affairs to a discussion of the literary scene in Taiwan. Po Yang stated that he was exceedingly optimistic about the world of literature as he now found it. Two of the things that had struck him on his return to society were the signs of economic prosperity and the effects of universal education which, he felt, were propelling

work in the cultural field into a completely new era, an era which was as outstanding as that of the thirties or which was at least as vigorous as the period following the thirties.[98]

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98 Han Han 韓韓 "Wo chien-tao le Po Yang" 我見到了柏楊 (I Have Seen Po Yang), in Nan pei chi, No.49, (March, 1978), p. 94.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Conclusion

"Few writers in Taiwan are aware of their literary opportunities and responsibilities. It pains me to think what we are going to leave as literary monuments to the huge sacrifices we have suffered and the incredibile follies we have committed. A tentative answer to this puzzle, though a very uncomfortable one to my fellow writers, is that we do not have among us the requisite talent, that the best potential is on the mainland." (T.A.Hsia, 1961).[1]

"My late brother's essay was full of acute observation and shrewd advice, but it has proudly served its purpose in that, in comparison with the mainland, Taiwan since 1961 has enjoyed a minor literary renascence of genuine promise, even though few Western readers are yet aware of its existence. The best Taiwan writers, including those now residing in America who had studied under my brother, are turning out a fiction and poetry of refined sensibility and careful craftsmanship." (C.T.Hsia, 1970).[2]

Less than ten years separate the above comments made by the two Hsia brothers regarding literature in

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[1] T.A.Hsia in Hsia,C.T., op.cit., p.517.

[2] Hsia,C.T., op.cit., 2nd edit.revised,1971,p.VII.

Taiwan. The first offers little hope of any writing of consequence, whilst the second acclaims a literary renaissance of genuine promise and the emergence of writers possessed of refined sensibilities and who are masters of their craft.

That two such contradictory statements can be made about the literary scene in Taiwan can be explained by the fact that, due to his sudden demise in 1965, T.A.Hsia was prevented from seeing any significant flowering of the talent that was to surface after he made his review. Unfortunately for Taiwan, it was T.A.Hsia's view that was perpetuated in Western journals long after his evaluation had ceased to be valid. So much was this the case that Taiwan was still being described as a cultural or intellectual desert as late as 1971. However, efforts are now being made to redress the imbalance, and C.T.Hsia, who originally shared his brother's views, and scholars like Joseph Lau, Angela Palandri and Yip Wai-lim, among others, have seen, appreciated and recorded the change that has taken place, and are currently in the process of drawing the attention of the rest of the world to the flourishing of the arts in Taiwan.

This thesis has sought partly to trace the development and growth of various literary genres in Taiwan and to name the best of Taiwan's literary talent, but its main preoccupation has been with the associations formed by writers, particularly those sympathetic to the government's stance; with the literary movements set in motion as a means of cajoling fellow-writers into

subordinating art to politics, and with the gradual awakening of the government to its responsibilities to the arts, culminating in the drawing up of a comprehensive policy statement in 1967. Over against this we have set the independent writer who claims to owe allegiance first and foremost to his or her conscience and who has been made to pay for his or her outspokenness.

The desserts meted out to such writers would seem to lend weight to the argument that for all its talk about "freedom", Free China is by no means as free as these writers believe it should be, and certainly not as free as some nations in the West where writers can make political comment or draw the attention of the public to mismanagement by government and to the foibles of politicians with impunity. On the other hand, a surprising amount of criticism has been tolerated in Taiwan, the censors drawing the line at criticism of the president; at challenges to the ideology of The Three Principles of the People and the policy of counter-attack and a return to the mainland, and at any suggestion that antagonism between mainlander and Taiwanese still exists. Western criticism of the government in Taiwan would maintain that not to allow any discussion whatever on areas of such vital importance to the people of Taiwan amounts to muzzling the writer and denying him the freedom of expression which is supposed to be guaranteed to him by Taiwan's own Constitution. It needs to be stated, however, that in the case of Li Ao one gets the feeling that up to a point the authorities were

embarrassed by the need to take the extreme action they eventually took, and that had he been willing to temper his attacks and to refrain from personal invective and a determination to win every battle against his enemies, he might not have had to suffer the indignities and misfortune which eventually overtook him. It is indeed doubtful whether writers in free Western societies could have proceeded very much further than Li Ao without having to face severe repercussions such as being sued for libel and experiencing the social ostracism of their peers.

Po Yang, of course, was judged, rightly or wrongly, to have cast a slur on the president, and unmistakably therefore to have overstepped the invisible line drawn between the permissible and the forbidden.

The essence of the situation is that, from the standpoint of the authorities in Taiwan, the island continues to be in a state of war and therefore in mortal danger, and that, in consequence, they feel they have to maintain a degree of control over their writers and artists which might not be necessary in more relaxed circumstances. Scholars and writers in other more fortunate countries might think them repressive and their actions unacceptable, but this is because they fail to appreciate the gravity of the struggle in which Taiwan is engaged.

However justified the criticism of the situation in Taiwan, it must be admitted that there is, in Taiwan, a degree of freedom which has largely been denied the writer in mainland China. The manner in which Kuo Liang-hui,

for example, was able to defy government policy and yet continue to write and find a publisher, is clear indication that whatever the pressures under which independent-minded writers may seek to exercise their craft, if sufficiently motivated and tough, they can continue in their profession.

We have seen how, through the years, many Kuomintang writers have pressed for government support and for the formulation of a literary policy that would be as binding on writers in Taiwan as the Communist literary policy is on writers in mainland China. We have also seen how this has been vigorously resisted by those for whom politics and art do not mix, but who, nevertheless, seem not at all averse to government grants and access to government publishing houses when no strings are attached. One cannot help but conclude that one of the reasons why it took the government so long to take literature and the arts seriously was because the advocates of government support and control represent just one among a number of lobbies competing for the attention of policy-makers and for a larger slice of the financial cake. One suspects also that there are groups at the highest levels of government and government agencies for whom the formulation and support of literary policies seem to matter little in the field of practical politics, and who are therefore untroubled by the demise of cultural organizations, even when they are government sponsored and espouse government policies on culture. Examples of the collapse of cultural bodies due to such indifference

are found in the case of The Chinese Literature and Art Award Committee in 1956 and in that of the inadequate funding of the Bureau of Cultural Affairs in 1970.

If this is the case, it would explain why there is such a time-lag between utterances of policy statements and their implementation, particularly those of a practical nature. That there are writers who still adhere to government policies and write what they are expected to write is due less to government support than to their own ideological commitments. Even in the revised version of A History of Modern Chinese Fiction, (1971), C.T.Hsia deplores the lack of encouragement and financial assistance to writers by government. Citing the case of the novelist, Chiang Kuei, he says, "At a time when Taiwan is seriously promoting a 'Cultural Renaissance,' that one of its greatest writers, and an anti-Communist to boot, should suffer gross neglect and receive no financial support whatever for his serious writing projects remains a puzzling case of irony indeed."[3]

If the writer in Taiwan writes anti-Communist literature it is not necessarily because he is closely involved with those writers' associations described in this study nor because he is informed by a San Min Chu I philosophy of life. In most cases, it is simply because he opposes Communism. Like Po Yang, he writes not for the sake of government, nor for personal profit, but because

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3 ibid., p.561.

he "stand[s] at that point where the whole of mankind's fortune or misfortune can be viewed."[4] He opposes Communism because he "stand[s] for the dignity of man."[5]

As has already been noted, however, those who write anti-Communist literature are but a small percentage of those who call themselves creative writers. Ko Hsien-ning, after making a survey in 1959 of the literary scene in Taiwan, concluded that although 70% of all writers agreed with the idea of using literature as a means of combating Communism, only half that number actually put the idea into practice. Of the remaining 30%, 20% did not agree at all with the use of literature as a political weapon, and 10% saw writing only as a means of making money.[6] Although this survey was meant to cover only the years 1949 - 1954, one suspects the figures hold good even for the remainder of the period under review here.

Apart from any figures given by Ko Hsien-ning, what has surfaced during this study is that there appear to be three kinds of writers in Taiwan: 1. those who write the way the government would like them to write, (e.g., T'ien Yüan, Tuan Ts'ai-hua); 2. those who once wrote the way the government would like them to write, but now

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4 See p.411 of thesis.

5 ibid.

6 Ko Hsien-ning,"Wu nien lai ti chan-tou wen-i yün-tung," in YSWI, Vol.10, No.3, (March,1959).

no longer do so, and who consider their early attempts to write to a formula immature and unsatisfactory,(e.g., Chiang Kuei, Chu Hsi-ning); and 3. those who have never attempted to follow anything but their own Muse. This last attitude would probably apply to most of the second and third generation of writers in Taiwan, and is understandable in view of the fact that they have either only a dim recollection of the land of their fathers or, being born in Taiwan, feel no particular tie to a country they have not seen.

Another element in the literary scene in Taiwan that has come to the fore in this study is the re-emergence of the conflict between Eastern and Western cultures, a conflict which had its roots in the nineteenth century. The controversy between poets in the fifties and sixties, for example, and the East - West Controversy of 1962 - 1964, witnessed to the fact that the Chinese in Taiwan had not resolved the problem of their attitude to their own past and to its relationship to the culture of the modern world which was still being thought of as being Western. On the one side, therefore, was the spectacle of young writers trying to emulate writers in the West in such a way as to appear to be mutilating their own language and jettisoning their spiritual heritage, and on the other, a somewhat older generation of writers being made to appear unimaginative, fossilized and fearful of anything new. Caught somewhere in the middle was the government which had held before it Sun Yat-sen's ideal of incorporating the best of East and

West whilst at the same time experiencing the feeling of a desparate need to preserve the Chinese tradition unsullied by foreign elements. This tug-of-war might have been avoided if access had not been denied to those writers of the thirties and forties who had gone a considerable distance toward resolving the tension between Eastern and Western culture. The ban on the works of these writers more or less drove the younger generation of writers in Taiwan into the arms of the West. Instead of being allowed to draw on the experience of those of their predecessors who had learnt to re-interpret and express in new and fresh ways the spirit and values of Chinese culture; who had arrived at a deeper understanding of the nature of the spirit and values of the West and discovered elements common to them both, they had had to begin the process of resolving the tension between East and West all over again. In other words, they were condemned to repeat the experimentations made some twenty to thirty years earlier; and to make the same mistakes. But just as the earlier generation on the mainland won its way through to a new kind of literature which owed something to both the Chinese tradition as well as to Western literature, so too has there now emerged in Taiwan a generation of writers who are "more smooth and mature in their command of the living language"[7] and who "have

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[7] ACCL, Vol.1, Introduction to the Essays, p.318.

developed a fresh and contemporary idiom which matches their personal responses to an exciting new era",[8] and who are "contributing to a fresh chapter in the history of Chinese pai-hua literature."[9]

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8 ibid.

9 Renditions, No.5, Hong Kong, Autumn, 1975, p.87.

APPENDIX I

"Current Policy for Literature and the Arts" adopted by the Fifth Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Kuomintang on November 22, 1967

I. Basic Aims:

1. To accord with the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement and, in a positive manner, to promote the establishment of a San Min Chu I New Literature and Art in order to enhance the ethical spirit of the nation; extend the sphere of democratic constitutional government, and realize the Min Sheng ideals of health and happiness.

2. To emphasize the parallel development of the arts and science so that mind and matter are considered equally important, and at the same time to utilize the power of the mind to overcome the difficulties presented by matter so as to fulfil the psychological conditions for national reconstruction.

3. To promote the fusion of the creative arts and the martial arts; to make one family of the armed forces and civilians in order to realize the potential of the educative function of the arts and to magnify the fighting power of the arts so as to meet the demands of national defense and Min Sheng.

4. To strengthen the understanding of the enemy situation within the field of literature and the arts and to maintain the anti-Communist stance in the arts; to bring into full play the finest qualities in our literature and art; to smash the secret machinations of the enemy for all-out war, and to distinguish the traitor by means of [vigilant] loyalty; to control violence by means of humaneness, to transform hate through love, to destroy that which is false by means of the truth and to attain to the restoration of the mainland and to rebuild China.

5. To combine the power of honest and uncorrupted literature and art of all free countries in order to turn back the adverse tide of licentious and decadent literature and art and lead it toward the mainstream of San Min Chu I New Literature and Art, thereby safeguarding universal principles, championing the

cause of justice, and overthrowing and annihilating brute force and violence so that the whole of mankind may ascend to the realm of freedom, equality and universal love.

II. The Course to be followed in artistic creation:

6. To invigorate the spirit of the times, national concepts and national consciousness [as these are expressed in literary and artistic creations] so that the new literature and art will take on the mission of being the heir to ancient sages and the teacher of posterity, of rousing a response to the times, of broadening the nation's opportunities, and of disseminating the virtue of the people by means of heightening the writer's sense of responsibility for the times, the nation and the people.

7. To establish that artistic creation must have the service of man as its chief aim; to recognize that the value of the arts lies in the increased savour they give to life and in [their capacity to] broaden the realm of the spirit, enriching, fulfilling and beautifying life.

8. To emphasize the social significance of artistic creativity; to establish a brand new, heroic, warm and brilliant style; to manifest light and to dispel darkness, in order to call forth a sympathetic response on a wide scale in society, and to promote the development of social advancement.

9. To create a perfectly genuine, outstandly beautiful and supremely good art so that the strength of thought and faith are melded within the work of art; to strive to represent simply profundities explored by the artist in order to spotlight the glory of man and to reveal the meaning of life.

III Agencies Concerned with Literature and Art

10. The leadership and policy making of the Central Committee's Literary and Art Work Advisory Counsel shall be made more effective so that it may fully take on the responsibility for planning, co-ordinating, utilizing, promoting, directing and supervising those agencies and official functions associated with the arts.

11. The authority of the government's main literature and art agencies shall be centralized, and the management of work related to literature, music and fine arts,

the dance, drama, the film and art-related mass communications shall be unified. Further assistance and guidance shall be provided for subsidiary agencies in order that they may serve the principles of subsidiary leadership and in order to revise related rules and regulations, support artistic development, and promote literary and art activities.

12. Literature and art bodies shall be counselled in compliance with the need for proper division of labour and co-ordination. Their organizations shall be strengthened; their facilities improved, their tasks assigned. Their income shall be supplemented and their effectiveness examined. Appropriate premises shall be made available to them and their activities shall be facilitated.

IV Financing the Arts

13. The government shall be urged to draw up "a long-term plan for the development of the arts" which will be reviewed periodically, which will fix a budget for the arts, and which will fully develop artistic enterprise.

14. Government and society at large shall combine their strengths to plan broadly for the provision of financial support and the establishment of various kinds of useful literature and art foundations. All industrial and commercial enterprises that make donations to such foundations shall have such donations made exempt from tax.

15. Individual companies in the industrial and commercial sectors as well as individual entrepreneurs shall be encouraged to make donations to literature and art foundations and scholarships, and, in accordance with the regulations governing "donations to promote learning," shall be commended.

V Artistic Talent

16. Recommendations of [persons with] special talent in the arts, and enquiries into and the examination and registration of such talent[ed persons] shall be initiated nationwide. They shall be classified and organized into groups according to their interests, accomplishments and actual needs so that on the one hand, people with a talent for literary and art work will be recruited, and on the other, the battle order within literature and art will be completed so that they can, in concert be put at the service of the state.

17. Assistance shall be given to literary and art workers to study. "A Centre for the Study of Literature and the Arts" shall be established wherein lectures on literature and the arts may be held; books on the arts circulated, research materials supplied, research into communications handled, in order to raise its creative attainment and to increase its ability to serve. All talented persons, whether civilian or military, who have a great contribution to make to the new literary and art work shall be assisted to go overseas to study or to engage in advanced research.

18. Young talent shall be cultivated; the ideology and beliefs of talented youth shall be stabilized; their patriotic sentiments shall be stimulated; they shall be disciplined to concentrate their efforts on their skills and develop their creative ability. Not only shall the Chung shan Scholarship be made available to more persons, but additional scholarships in literature and the arts shall be established, and loyal and outstanding comrades shall be selected by competitive examinations, thereby giving them opportunities to further their study and to achieve profundity in their work.

19. A welfare system for literary and art workers shall be established; proposals shall be put forward that newspaper and publishing enterprises raise the manuscript fee and royalties. At the same time, the government shall be asked to revise the copyright laws and defend the rights of the writer and safeguard the status of literary and art work, so that [workers in these fields] may contribute their wisdom and understanding to the nation and to society.

VI. The Creation of Literature and Art

20. Emphasis shall be laid on the study and development of literary theory. A body of literary theory with San Min Chu I at its centre shall be established. Literary doctrine under the spell of Communism shall be eliminated. Apart from indicating the shortcomings of those present-day literary ideologies and schools which are immoral, undemocratic or unscientific, there shall be a striving to confute them in order to lead the development of new literature in the right direction.

21. Objective and fair criticism of the arts shall be promoted. Rules of criticism shall be laid down. The chief aims of criticism shall be determined in order to clear the path ahead for creativity, to improve

the methods of creativity; to demonstrate the achievements of creativity; to raise the ideological and artistic quality of art, and to advance the people's ability to appreciate new literature and art.

22. Planning shall be such as to ensure that the various art forms will accord with the main purport of the Chinese Cultural Renaissance and be in tune with the needs of the national spirit of general mobilization, and that they will be aimed at differing areas, differing objectives, and differing psychological attitudes, thereby creating works of great variety. By having been through such an effective process [directed towards differing places, people, and psychological attitudes] the new literature and art will be appreciated by a wide audience and will enter more deeply into the minds of people everywhere.

23. Research into famous authors of the past and into fine works of art, songs and music, dance and drama (including regional drama) which have a peculiarly national flavour to them shall be undertaken in order, on the one hand, to preserve the choicest of traditional culture and, on the other, to serve as models for the creation of new works of art so that by inheriting the past, their greatness may be enhanced and the status of our nation be raised in the world forum of art.

24. The curricula and activities related to the arts in schools at all levels shall be improved. Literature and art for children shall be promoted so that education in aesthetics is intimately linked with the four elements basic to education, namely, ethics, knowledge, physical training and group-life training in order to engage the emotions and interest of the students and bring their bodies and minds into harmony with each other.

25. There shall be a genuine improvement of teaching materials and teaching methods in the arts departments of the specialized schools and colleges. Those with artistic talent shall be encouraged to pursue advanced studies. More literature, music and fine arts etc. departments shall be established in schools and colleges so that the new literature and art will have the opportunity to be developed fully.

26. There shall be co-ordination between all the major units that sponsor literature and art awards and literature and art competitions. On the basis of the types of activity they are engaged in, and at differing times, there shall be encouragement of the various fields of literary and artistic endeavour

expressed through their research activities, creative enterprises and other activities which have a rich and positive content to them.

27. Joint planning shall be undertaken for the development of the artistic professions; and on the basis of their size and nature, and on whether they are to have central or regional location, there shall be established excellent opera houses, concert halls, art galleries, art centres, and social and education centres which shall serve as the locations for plays, concerts, exhibitions and other activities. Import duty shall be lowered, and the entertainment tax on purely artistic performances and art films shall be reduced.

28. The guidance of cinematography, broadcasting, television, record-making and publishing industries shall be strengthened. The standard of film producing shall be raised. The importation of foreign pornographic films shall be prohibited. The content of artistic programmes shall be improved. Music which arouses the fighting spirit shall be composed. Books and magazines containing good, pure literature shall be published so that entertainment of a refined nature will imperceptibly influence social education.

29. The Armed Forces New Literature and Art Movement shall be expanded until it penetrates every level of every military unit so that, on the one hand, counselling will be strengthened and new literature and art cadres will be nurtured so that literature and art in the armed forces will be strong and mature; and so that, on the other hand, vigorous and grand works in the armed forces will be critically selected and excellently produced. Effective encouragement and publicity shall be given these works so that they may exercise great influence on the emergence of social renewal.

30. Cultural centres shall be opened abroad, and international cultural interflow shall be promoted. Close relations shall be fostered with overseas Chinese creative writers and with artists in friendly countries. Positive encouragement shall be given to the mutual translation of Chinese and foreign literary masterpieces. Financial assistance shall be given to those literary and art workers and groups whose achievements are outstanding so that they may go abroad to visit, to lecture, to attend conferences on literature and the arts, to participate

in artistic activities, to enhance the influence of the arts, to assist where there is insufficient publicity in order to deepen each country's government's and people's understanding of Chinese culture, to stir up in our overseas compatriots a passion for the Fatherland, to advance mutual association and friendship, and to assist the development of foreign relations and overseas Chinese affairs.

31. We shall initiate a cultural attack directed towards the mainland. Literature and the arts shall be made effective in enemy territory and in the minds of the enemy thereby awakening a respect for human nature and encouraging writers to flee to freedom. They shall be assisted to write works that describe the tragic circumstances of people living in Communist territory and to have these works translated into foreign languages and published on a large scale in order to accelerate the collapse of the Communist regime.

VII Matters of Priority

32. The building which is in the process of being erected as a memorial to the Father of the Republic shall be furnished with the facilities of a modern national theatre so that it can become the centre for Chinese opera, musicals, drama, music and the dance.

33. Work on theory and criticism in the fields of literature and the arts shall be commenced. Authoritative publications on theory and criticism in the fields of literature and the arts shall be published. A joint publishing house for books and magazines on literature and the arts shall be established in order to serve both the realm of literature and the arts and the reader.

34. Literature and art foundations shall join forces. The China Literature and Art Foundation, which has long been mooted, shall first of all be estabished and be used for the development of urgently needed literary and artistic work.

35. Guidance and support should be given to the creation and publication of literature for children; and their interest in participating in artistic activities shall be stimulated.

36. The number of colleges, schools and departments related to the arts shall be increased. Talent for the new literature and art required by the Party shall be nurtured within the regular educational system. There shall be experimentation with new literary and artistic creations.

36. The number of colleges, schools and departments related to the arts shall be increased. Talent for the new literature and art required by the Party shall be nurtured within the regular educational system. There shall be experimentation with new literary and artistic creations.

37. A strict ban on all kinds of current entertainment, activities, pornographic films, books, newspapers and magazines which are harmful to good customs and to the mental and physical health of young people shall be enforced. Reviews of the situation will be made at regular intervals.

VIII Co-ordination of Business Matters

38. The agency that will implement the policy for literature and the arts will be the Fourth Department within the Party's Central Committee. It will undertake to carry out the decisions made by the Central Committee's Advisory Counsel for Literary and Art Work. Overseas matters, however, will be the responsibility of the Third Department in conjunction with other related units.

39. Items 10, 17, 20, 21, 22, 33 of this particular policy are Party policy. Items 11, 13, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 35, 36, 37 were effectively executed by senior comrades who are members of government. Items 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 26, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34 were advanced by Party and government conjointly.

40. The practical application of the Policy for Literature and the Arts must accord with the demands of the plan for national reconstruction, mobilization and the suppression of rebellion. It must enhance the power of the spirit of literature and the arts. It must permeate politics, military affairs and the economy in order to advance the effectiveness of each. At the same time politics, military affairs and the economy must give to literature and the arts their complete support in order to help them to develop fully.

Chung-yang jih pao, November 22, 1967.

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